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Thomas Atkinson Jenkins

May 24, 1868—March 24, 1935

THOMAS ATKINSON JENKINS, professor of the History of the French Language, was retired from active service in September, 1933, after having served the University of Chicago for thirty-two years. Almost exactly two years after his last appearance in the classroom, while he was spending the winter in Berkeley, near his son, Francis, a member of the University of California faculty, he died following an operation.

After receiving an A.B. from Swarthmore College in 1887, and a Ph.B. degree from Pennsylvania in 1888, he sojourned for a brief period in the banking business, soon passing to the halls of Johns Hopkins University to study under A. Marshall Elliott, then the dominant figure in Romance scholarship in America. In 1894 he received the doctoral degree, presenting an edition of the *Espurgatoire Seint Patriz* of Marie de France (Philadelphia, 1894) as his doctoral thesis. In the same year he married Marian Magill, daughter of President E. H. Magill of Swarthmore. The following year he joined the faculty of Vanderbilt University, leaving there in 1900 for a position at Swarthmore. One year later he migrated to Chicago, where the Department of Romance Languages was younger and less developed than many others in that young institution. A year after his arrival he published in the "Decennial publications of the University of Chicago" a second edition of the *Espurgatoire* (1903), which represented a considerably enlarged and extended study of the text.

For eight years he and Karl Pietsch carried the burden of administration, and of graduate and undergraduate instruction, until the coming of William A. Nitze as head of the Romance Department in 1909. To students who first knew Jenkins in that period and only in the classroom, he seemed older than he was. The gravity of his bearing and manner, the precision and deliberateness with which his lectures were delivered, and the wide range of scholarship which his utterances disclosed conspired to create this effect. It was only later, if one of these students had the good fortune to become a friend and colleague, that his youthfulness of spirit, the gaiety of his humor, and his broader interest in other things than Romance philology were revealed. At a meeting of colleagues he would unexpectedly arise and create laughter by a piece of humorous verse or by gravely reading in several languages mock reviews of a colleague's book. No one so prompt as he to show warm hospitality to newly arrived instructor and graduate student; no one more ready to take the part of student or of lowly instructor when the occasion arose. By precept and by example, he convinced his students of the importance of a sound method, of caution in arriving at conclusions, of exercising meticulous care both as to substance and as to form before daring to incur the responsibility of the printed record. In the classroom he treated with such sympathy—indeed, with such deference—a question, a comment, an objection from a student that his classes became to a rare degree a meeting place of minds. Kindliness, generosity, and sympathy were the dominating traits in his personal relations with students and colleagues alike, and never was he too absorbed in scholarly pursuits to speak a friendly word or to do a kind deed.

For fourteen years he was secretary of the Philological Society of the University; during 1926–27 he was president of the Modern Language Association of America; and in 1924 Swarthmore conferred upon him the degree of Litt.D. He was a member of the Board of Editors of *Modern philology* from 1908 until his death, and was on the Council of the Mediaeval Academy of America from 1930 to 1933. Such were the public acknowledgments of the merits of this unassuming man and modest scholar.

Of his published work only the principal items can be mentioned here. In addition to the two editions of the *Espurgatoire* already men-

tioned, he published in 1909 for the "Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur" an edition of the *Eructavit*, an Old French metrical paraphrase of Ps. 44. From time to time he contributed to various American and foreign periodicals studies in French etymology, twenty of which were brought together in 1933 in one of the monographs of the Linguistic Society of America (No. XIV; 94 pp.). His presidential address before the Modern Language Association in 1926 "On newness in the novel" (*PMLA*, XLVII [1927], xliii ff.) bears witness to his skill in conveying the quality of his learning in lighter vein and in agreeable form. During the years 1928-34 he collaborated with William A. Nitze in making a critical edition of the *Perlesvaus*. He was responsible for the text of Volume I (Chicago, 1932), and had prepared the linguistic section of Volume II, which has not yet appeared.

His major work is his edition of the *Chanson de Roland* (New York: Heath, 1924; 2d ed., 1927), of which Professor Jeanroy wrote in *Romania*, L (1924), 616: "Cette édition reste la plus complète et la plus commode que nous possédions et il ne faut pas marchander notre reconnaissance au sagace et laborieux érudit qui nous a dotés de ce précieux instrument de travail." Jenkins himself derived especial pleasure from another sentence of the same review: "Nous avons ici une petite encyclopédie 'rolandienne' parfaitement mise au courant des plus récents travaux." Professor Wilmotte, in the same journal in the following year (LI, 122), refers to the work as "la remarquable édition de la *Chanson de Roland* que vient de donner M. Jenkins." How long and how eagerly Jenkins labored on this task only those know who were associated with him during the years of preparation. And his delight when he was confident that he had solved one of the many baffling textual problems revealed to what a degree the disinterested pursuits of scholarship gave him the intellectual adventures and rewards that satisfied his nature. Together with his complete family relationships, his eagerness that his students should advance in learning and in independent growth, his zeal for the best interests of his department, his affection for his friends, and his fidelity to the religious principles according to which he lived throughout his career—these intellectual adventures and rewards filled his life and made of him a happy man.

ALGERNON COLEMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1871

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CHRETIEN DE TROYES REDISCOVERED

WE KNOW from his works that Chrétien de Troyes was the protégé of Marie de France and of Philippe d'Alsace, who furnished him with the themes for *Lancelot* and *Perceval*, but he has told us nothing of his profession. From a passage of *Lancelot* (vss. 5591-94), Gaston Paris concluded that he was a *héraut d'armes*.¹ On the other hand, E. Wechssler² thought that he was a canon of the Beauvais cathedral, because Chrétien states in *Cligés* that he found the material for that romance in the Beauvais cathedral library:

Ceste estoire trovons escrete,
Que conter vos vuel et retenir,
An un des livres de l'aumeire
Mon seignor saint Pere a Biauvez.
De la fu li contes estrez,
Don cest romanz fist Crestiens [vss. 18-23].

Most of the critics, however, have been satisfied with the assumption that he was a churchman, without attempting, for lack of evidence, to fix his precise position.

As a matter of fact, in the cartulary of the abbey of La Chapelle-aux-Planches we find a charter dated 1173, and emanating from the bishop's palace. This charter, in which Bishop Matthew of Troyes confirms the donations of two of his predecessors in favor of the abbey, contains the names of the following witnesses:

Testes sunt: Girardus, abbas de Cella; Guiterus, abbas Sancti Lupi; Vitalis abbas Sancti Martini; Johannes, abbas Belli Loci; Harduinus, abbas de Arripatorio; Rainaudus de Pruvino; magister Bernardus, archidiaconi; Alexander, episcopi capellanus; magister Guiardus de Belfort, Petrus Bugre, canonici Beati Petri; Everardus, de Dreea decanus; Girardus, sacerdos de Gigni; Poncius, Johannes, Christianus, canonici Sancti Lupi.

Actum publice Trecis, in palatio pontificali, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLXXIII.³

The last signature happens to be that of one Christianus, a canon of the abbey of Saint-Loup, whose name does not appear in any other

¹ *Mélanges de littérature française au moyen âge* (1910), I, 252.

² *Die Sage vom heiligen Gral in ihrer Entwicklung bis auf Richard Wagners Parsifal* (1898), pp. 146-48.

³ *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes*, IV, 22-24. This charter was copied from the original; its authenticity cannot be questioned.

[MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1935]

known charter. It seems to me that Canon Christianus is worthy of consideration as the author of the Arthurian romances. The abbey of Saint-Loup, established in the fifth century by Bishop Saint-Loup, and reformed in 1135 by Saint Bernard, seems to have enjoyed the special favor of the house of Champagne; in Volume I of its cartulary we find sixteen charters of Henry the Liberal, seven of Marie de France, and two of Count Henry II.

In one of the charters of Countess Marie in favor of Saint-Loup (I, 101-3) we also find the name of Andreas Capellanus, the author of the *Tractatus de amore*,⁴ whose influence on Chrétien's later works is generally recognized by scholars. The fact that Andreas is further mentioned in six other charters between 1182 and 1186 proves that he was chaplain to Marie de France during this period. Therefore we may conclude that our two authors, who were both protégés of the countess, must have met at her court.

From the fact that Chrétien knew Philippe d'Alsace, it has been suggested that he spent some time in Flanders, and may have died there.⁵ Philippe, however, seems to have been a frequent visitor at the court of Champagne. We know that he was at Troyes in 1171, at Provins in 1181,⁶ and the passage through Troyes of members of his first expedition to the Holy Land is recorded in the Saint-Loup cartulary, in 1177.⁷ We learn also from Cartellieri that in 1182 Philippe proposed marriage to Marie de France, both being widowed at the time.⁸ But the marriage did not take place. There were rumors that Marie proved too compliant to Philippe's premarital attentions, so that he soon tired of her and married elsewhere. At any rate, his frequent presence in Champagne is sufficiently established to allow us to assume that Chrétien made his acquaintance at the countess' court, and that there is no basis for the belief that Chrétien had lived in Flanders.

LOUIS-ANDRÉ VIGNERAS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

⁴ On the identification of the author of the *De amore* with André le chapelain, see Pio Rajna, "Tre studi per la storia del libro di Andrea Cappellano," *Studi di filologia romanza*, V (1891), 258. See also H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* (1865), Nos. 336, 340, 344, 348; *Léproserie de la ville de Troyes* (Troyes, 1849), pp. 103, 104, 107; *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes*, V, 58-59.

⁵ Gustave Cohen, *Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre* (1931), p. 88.

⁶ Cartellieri, *Philipp II August* (1899), I, 101-2.

⁷ *Collection . . .*, I, 86: "Henricus Flandrensis, Lambertus Flandrensis, milites. . . ."

⁸ I, 133-34.

NEW STUDIES ON JEAN RENART: THE DATE
OF THE *ESCOUFLE*

TWO facts concerning the chronology of Jean Renart's works may be considered as definitely acquired, namely, *Guillaume de Dole* was written before 1214¹ and the *Escoufle* antedates the *Lai de l'ombre*.² Until recently it was believed reasonably certain also that the *Escoufle* was written prior to 1202; however, in the first of his "Etudes sur Jean Renart,"³ L.-A. Vigneras presents arguments which he feels show conclusively that the romance was written after 1244. Acceptance of this dating would not only greatly alter the notions which have been current concerning the period of Renart's poetical activity but would place the *Ombre* also after 1244—a point which Mr. Vigneras seems to have overlooked, for in his second "Etude"⁴ he seeks to give greater precision and probability to a hypothesis, first proposed by Tobler and further developed by Bédier and Foulet, according to which the *Ombre* was written between 1217 and 1222.⁵ It becomes of considerable importance to the student of Old French literature, consequently, to ascertain how well founded are the arguments upon which Mr. Vigneras bases his dating.

Let us begin by noting that if the *Escoufle* were written after 1244, its composition must have followed that of *Guillaume de Dole* by more than thirty years. So long an interim between two works from the same author would in any case be somewhat unusual, but it is especially difficult to believe that *Guillaume de Dole* and the *Escoufle*, which show such close relation to each other in matter and treatment,

¹ Cf. G. Servois, *Le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1893), pp. li-lili and lxxxv; F. M. Warren, "Notes on the *Romans d'aventure*," *Modern language notes*, XIII (1898), 174; L. Foulet, *Romania*, LI (1925), 95; C.-V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge d'après des romans mondains du temps* (Paris, 1926), p. 73.

² The *Ombre* (ed. J. Bédier [Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1913]) contains an unmistakable allusion (vss. 21-22) to the *Escoufle* (ed. P. Meyer [Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1894]). Cf. Langlois, p. 78.

³ *Modern philology*, XXX (1933), 241-62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-59.

⁵ Cf. Tobler, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, LXXXV (1890), 355; Bédier, *Le lai de l'ombre* (Paris, 1913), p. xx n.; Foulet, *Romania*, LI, 103; also Schultz-Gora, *Archiv*, CLVII (1930), 48.

were so widely separated in time. Langlois expressed a conviction akin to this when he wrote: "Il est malaisément concevable, à cause des ressemblances intimes que l'*Escoufle* présente avec *Guillaume de Dole*, que le premier de ces romans ait été composé très longtemps avant le second."⁶

But further than that, *Guillaume de Dole* contains indications that the *Escoufle* preceded it. Attention has already been called to these by Warren;⁷ I refer the reader to him, pausing here to insist only upon what seems to me the more compelling indication of the priority of the *Escoufle*, that contained in these lines:

5402 Il [the seneschal] n'en puet mes aler sanz perte,
 Car il [Corras] le tient pire q'escoufles.
 Il fu en aniaus et en moufles
 De fer orainz mis en la tor:
 S'il puet eschaper a cest tor,
 Dont savra il mout de Renart.

The likening of the seneschal to a kite (*escoufle*) immediately suggests an allusion to the romance in which a kite plays a rôle somewhat analogous to that of the seneschal, i.e., that of disturbing the love affair between the hero and heroine. In fact, the force of the comparison can be appreciated only if one is cognizant of the particular hatred for kites to which the situation in the *Escoufle* gives rise, for the kite is hardly so obnoxious a creature as to have suggested itself spontaneously as the very unfavorable term of comparison the author manifestly intended it to be here. Still further, the citation of the *Escoufle* in the *Ombre* (vss. 21-22) is evidence of Jean Renart's disposition to allude in one work to a previous composition;⁸ and, in view of his known fondness for play on words and for subtle devices (*devinettes*), the occurrence in *Guillaume de Dole* of the name of his principal other work, separated but by a few lines from his own name, Renart, can hardly be a coincidence. This conviction is strengthened further by the consideration that if no play on the word "Renart" had been intended, the derivation *renardie* would have been more natural in the sense required. We doubtless have, then, in the lines cited, one of the poet's

⁶ *La vie en France au moyen âge d'après des romans mondains*, p. 37.

⁷ *Modern language notes*, XIII, 174.

⁸ Cf. P. Meyer, introduction to the *Escoufle*, pp. xi-xli.

characteristic subtleties, in which he indicates that he is Renart, the same who had already written the *Escoufle*.

Now, if the *Escoufle* were written before *Guillaume de Dole*—and we have just seen that there is very good reason to believe it was—it follows that Mr. Vigneras must be mistaken not only in his dating of the first-named romance but also in the historical parallels he believes he has discovered and upon which he bases that dating. And, indeed, it will not be difficult to show that there is no reason to believe that the *Escoufle* reflects the influence of any historical event or presents any historical characters.

The emperor who figures in the *Escoufle* is, according to Mr. Vigneras, to be identified with Frederick II. This identification rests, in the first place, on the circumstance that he is a Holy Roman emperor who resides habitually in Italy.⁹ However, the emperors who are portrayed in *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Ille et Galeron* are likewise Holy Roman emperors¹⁰ living habitually in Italy; so apparently is the one who appears in *Robert le Diable*;¹¹ the type is, therefore, a more or less conventional one in medieval romance. Mr. Vigneras alleges next that the emperor in the *Escoufle* is, as was Frederick II, king of Sicily. The *Escoufle*, however, contains not the slightest indication that the emperor who figures therein is to be considered as king of Sicily;¹² on the contrary, it is indicated positively that he is not, for the king of Sicily is mentioned in the poem (vs. 8818) as a personage distinct from the emperor. It is worth remarking here also that Frederick II was king of Jerusalem as well, but that the *Escoufle* presents the king of Jerusalem likewise as a personage distinct from the emperor (vss. 480 ff.). On these counts, then, the identification with Frederick II becomes extremely doubtful.

The emperor in the *Escoufle* tells Richard de Montivilliers, hero of the first part of the romance, that at the beginning of his reign he has

⁹ *Modern philology*, XXX, 243.

¹⁰ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne* (ed. H. Michelant [Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1876]), vss. 1847 ff., 8672; *Ille et Galeron* (ed. W. Förster [Halle, 1891]), vss. 2664, 2472, etc.

¹¹ Ed. E. Löseth (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1903).

¹² The only point Mr. Vigneras offers in support of his assertion is that the emperor is sometimes referred to as *roi* (p. 243 n.). It seems hardly necessary to point out that *roi* very commonly occurs as a synonym for *emperor* in Old French; one need only recall the opening line of the *Chanson de Roland*.

made the mistake of putting down his nobles in favor of his *servaille* and that now the latter have gotten out of hand and are occasioning him great trouble (vss. 1484 ff.). This, claims Mr. Vigneras, is exactly what happened to Frederick II, who, after having suppressed several times his revolting barons, was obliged to engage in a long struggle with the towns of Sicily and the Lombard League. The situation depicted in the *Escoufle*, he concludes, must have been inspired by that which faced Frederick.¹³ Not at all. Jean Renart, like the author of *Partonopeus de Blois*,¹⁴ had strong feelings, as numerous passages show, on the subject of persons of base extraction being elevated through royal favor to places of honor and power. He took occasion, then, in the *Escoufle* to trace an object lesson, showing what results when a ruler diverts his favor from his nobles to *serfs* and *vilains*:

1496 Que honis soit princes qui laist
 Por ses vilains ses gentix homes!

Now, we know that Renart already possessed the same sentiments of scorn and distrust for the *vilains* and that he already envisaged the same consequences of their elevation when he wrote *Guillaume de Dole*: for, in extolling the virtues of the exemplary emperor, Corras, he says:

574 Il n'estoit mie, ce me samble,
 De cez rois ne de cez barons
 Qui donent or a lor garçons
 Rentes et prevostez a ferme,
 Dont les terres et il meesme
 Sont destruites et il honi;
 S'ont tot le monde aviloni;
 Ce met les prodomes arriere
 Et les mauvès en la chaire:
 Mal fet bers qes met en baillie;
 Que ja por nule segnorie
 Nuls vilains n'iert se vilains non.

Jean Renart could not yet possibly have had Frederick's case in mind at the time *Guillaume de Dole* was written; there are, consequently, no grounds for connecting the troubles of the emperor in the *Escoufle* with those of Frederick.

¹³ *Modern philology*, XXX, 243-50.

¹⁴ Published by G. Crapelet (Paris, 1834); cf. vss. 177-82, 415-76, 2549 ff., 3575 ff.

Mr. Vigneras believes that Jean Renart must have known and utilized in the *Escoufle* certain details of the crusading expedition undertaken by Richard of Cornwall in 1240. He sees between the historical crusade of the earl of Cornwall, as recounted by Matthew Paris,¹⁵ and the pilgrimage of Richard de Montivilliers in the *Escoufle* correspondences and parallels, some of which he admits may result from chance, but others of which "on ne saurait attribuer uniquement au hasard."¹⁶ Jean Renart, he concludes, must have received information concerning Richard of Cornwall's expedition from one of the French crusaders taken prisoner at the battle of Gaza and freed through Richard's negotiations with the sultan of Egypt.¹⁷

Particular insistence is placed upon the circumstance of Richard of Cornwall's arriving in Italy from the Holy Land at a time more or less coincident with Frederick II's only passage at Benevento and the fact that in the *Escoufle* it is precisely at Benevento that Richard de Montivilliers, returning from the Holy Land, is received by the emperor. Since we have established that there is no reason for considering the emperor in the *Escoufle* as Frederick II, this point, of course, loses most of its force. It becomes entirely nugatory with Mr. Vigneras's own admissions that Benevento was well known in medieval times and not infrequently is mentioned in other romances,¹⁸ that it is doubtful whether the earl of Cornwall went to Benevento,¹⁹ and that in any case his meeting with Frederick II certainly took place elsewhere.²⁰ Frederick's stay in Benevento, moreover, must have been very brief;²¹ if Jean Renart had actually based his account of the emperor's reception of the count of Montivilliers upon knowledge of Richard Plantagenet's sojourn in Italy, he doubtless would have placed the scene at Foggia rather than at Benevento, for it was there that the earl of Cornwall must have passed the greater part of his stay, it was there that Frederick provided entertainment of a sensational nature for him, and it was there alone that he could have seen the empress.²²

¹⁵ *Chronica majora* (London, 1877), Vol. IV, *passim*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁶ *Modern philology*, XXX, 252.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 255

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 256 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Cf. *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano chronica* (ed. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* [Hanover, 1864]), p. 149.

²² Matthew Paris, IV, 147.

In the *Escoufle* the count of Montivilliers is represented as having horses purchased for his company upon arrival at Acre (vss. 429 ff.). "Nous ignorons," says Mr. Vignerat, "si Richard de Cornouailles en a fait autant, mais nous savons qu'une des causes du désastre de Gaza, en 1239, avait été précisément le manque de chevaux."²³ Richard of Cornwall undoubtedly did purchase horses on landing at Acre, just as Richard de Montivilliers does in the *Escoufle*; for, the continuator of William of Tyre (Rothelin manuscript) mentions particularly that the earl's company was "moult bien monté."²⁴ But, since the crusaders evidently were not in the habit of transporting their horses by sea, the purchase of mounts on landing was an incident certainly not restricted to Richard of Cornwall's expedition; and, consequently, the presence of this detail in Jean Renart's poem is not at all necessarily dependent thereon.

At Jerusalem, Richard de Montivilliers holds lavish open table for

688 ... trestous ceus qui manger voelent
 Ki sans seignor sont en la terre.

Following the repast, he distributes largesses among his guests, who in gratitude

750 ... li presentent lor service
 Et lor avoir por lui servir.

Scenes of this type are commonplace in the medieval romances, chronicles, and *chansons de geste*, where munificence exhibited in this fashion is a prime requisite in the great lord who wishes esteem and followers. For this portrayal, then, did Jean Renart need to know, as Mr. Vignerat believes, that Richard of Cornwall, shortly after his arrival in Acre—note that in the *Escoufle* the scene is laid in Jerusalem—had it proclaimed "ut nullus Christianus peregrinus recederet pro defectu pecuniae, sed stipendiis ejus sustentandi morarentur Christo strenue militaturis"?²⁵

The alleged correspondences between the count of Montivillier's pilgrimage in the *Escoufle* and Richard of Cornwall's campaign in

²³ *Modern philology*, XXX, 253-54.

²⁴ *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, historiens occidentaux*, II, 532; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 421 (*Eistoire d'Eracles*).

²⁵ Matthew Paris, IV, 71

1240, we have seen, are of a nature that hardly warrants acceptance of the hypothesis that Jean Renart knew and utilized in the *Escoufle* details of the earl of Cornwall's expedition. On the other hand, the account in the *Escoufle* differs in many essentials from what we know of the movements of Richard of Cornwall; thus it is more than unlikely that the English prince served Jean Renart as a prototype for his Richard de Montivilliers. For instance, Renart has his hero embark for Palestine at Brindisi; the earl of Cornwall sailed—as had, moreover, the French crusaders of 1239—from Marseille.²⁶ In the *Escoufle*, Richard de Montivilliers proceeds immediately from Acre to Jerusalem: Richard of Cornwall went from Acre to Ashkelon, where he spent the greater part of his stay in the Holy Land aiding in the fortification of that town;²⁷ it is even doubtful that he visited Jerusalem at all.²⁸ During the count of Montivilliers' visit, Jerusalem is threatened by the kings of Mosul and Greater India (vss. 784 ff.), whom the count successfully combats. In 1240 the adversaries of the Christians in Palestine lay in an entirely different quarter—Egypt and Damascus—and Richard of Cornwall never took the field against the infidels. Renart says (vs. 1321) of his hero's exploits in the Holy Land: "Mout i fist bien en poi de tens." The continuator of William of Tyre says with particular reference to the earl of Cornwall and the duke of Burgundy: "En ceste maniere ne firent guairez de preu toutes ces genz en la Sainte Terre."²⁹ Richard de Montivilliers is represented as returning from Palestine via Brindisi, as he had gone; Richard of Cornwall disembarked, on his return, at Trapani in Sicily.

Certainly Mr. Vigneras's most interesting and most valuable contribution to the study of Jean Renart is his discovery in the accounts of Louis IX's chamberlain and in the register of Eudes Rigaud, arch-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, *Hist. occid.*, II, 555 and 529–30.

²⁷ Matthew Paris, IV, 138–44; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, pp. 555–56.

²⁸ According to the Rothelin manuscript (*Hist. occid.*, II, 556), Richard and the duke of Burgundy visited together Jerusalem and the holy places following the fortification of Ashkelon; the *Estoire d'Eracles*, however, recounts (*Hist. occid.*, II, 421) that when the fortifications were completed, Richard had the emperor's balliff come from Jerusalem to Ashkelon, turned the works over to him, and then returned directly to Acre, whence he sailed for home. In the letter from Richard reproduced by Matthew Paris (IV, 138–44), which gives a complete account of the earl's activities in the Holy Land, no mention is made of a visit to Jerusalem.

²⁹ *Hist. occid.*, II, 556.

bishop of Rouen, of mention of a clerk, Piaudoue, who may be the same Piaudoue who appears in one of two tensons which feature an aged minstrel, Renart de Dammartin, apparently identical with the author of the *Escoufle*.³⁰ I reserve discussion of these tensons for a subsequent article; here I wish simply to point out that Mr. Vigneras draws from his discovery unjustified conclusions. The assumption that, since a Piaudoue is mentioned in accounts for the year 1256 and was invested with a parish sometime between 1248 and 1275, the two tensons must have been composed in the neighborhood of 1260 is entirely gratuitous. The Piaudoue of the tenson, since he twits Renart on his senility, was apparently a young man at the time. We know nothing of the age of the Piaudoue mentioned in the chamberlain's accounts and the archbishop's records; he may very well have been of an advanced age. Then, granting provisionally the identity of the two Piaudoues, I can see no reason why the tenson may not have been composed as much as forty years prior to 1256—that is, at a date wholly in accord with the notions concerning the period of Renart's activity which were current previous to Mr. Vigneras's study.

It is seldom possible to draw very precise conclusions concerning the date of a work from the language, linguistic changes usually requiring more than the space of a generation to impose themselves. However, two features of Jean Renart's language appear to indicate that he belongs rather to the turn of the century than to the later period in which Mr. Vigneras would place him. Let us examine these.

For the third person tonic possessive pronoun Jean Renart employed exclusively the etymological form *suen*.³¹ Now, at the close of the twelfth century the analogical form *sien* was beginning to show itself along with *suen* in Picard and Walloon writers, and by 1250 had entirely supplanted *suen* in the north of France.³² Gautier de Coincy, who wrote in the same vicinity as Renart (Soissonnais) and whose literary activity began in the second decade of the thirteenth century,

³⁰ *Modern philology*, XXX, 257 ff.

³¹ Cf. E. Färber, "Die Sprache der dem Jean Renart zugeschriebenen Werke," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXXIII (1915), 758-59; *Modern language notes*, XLIX (1934), 254.

³² Cf. W. Dittmer, *Die Pronomina possessiva im Altfranzösischen* (Greifswald, 1882), pp. 10-11.

already used *sien* to the exclusion of *suen*.³³ The same is true of Renaut, the author of *Galeran de Bretagne*, who seems likewise to be from the same region.³⁴ If, then, Jean Renart had written the *Escoufle* as late as 1244, we might expect to find in it, if not the exclusive use of *sien*, at least some occurrence of this form along with the older *suen*.

Jean Renart employed, particularly in the *Escoufle*, certain enclitic combinations, which, already less frequent toward the end of the twelfth century than they had previously been, seem to have passed into disuse early in the thirteenth century.³⁵ Thus we find *quil* for *qui le* (vss. 385, 1807, 1913, etc.) and *quis* or *ques* for *qui les* (vss. 301, 725, 1303, etc.), both enclises which, though they appear sporadically during most the thirteenth century, are extremely rare after the first quarter of it;³⁶ the frequency with which they occur in the *Escoufle* stamps the work definitely as one that could not have been written very long after the close of the twelfth century. Still more significant, perhaps, are *quin* for *qui en* (vss. 245, 6337) and *nes* for *ne se* (vs. 4258)³⁷—forms which, to my knowledge, do not occur elsewhere in thirteenth-century works.

To recapitulate: The *Escoufle* contains no historical allusions, or correspondences with historical events or personages, sufficiently well established to aid in determining its date. The *Lai de l'ombre*, which was written after the *Escoufle*, appears to have been written between 1217 and 1221. *Guillaume de Dole*, the composition of which it is difficult to conceive of as being separated from that of the *Escoufle* by any great space of time, was written before 1214; moreover, it can hardly

³³ Cf. A. C. Ott, *Gautier de Coincy's Cristinenleben* (Erlangen, 1922), p. cxix.

³⁴ Cf. Langlois, p. 5, n. 4.

³⁵ Cf. Foulet, *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français*² (Paris, 1930), p. 221.

³⁶ They are not to be found in the works of Gautier de Coincy or in *Galeran de Bretagne*. Some appreciation of the degree to which they had become archaic in the thirteenth century may be gained by a study of the variants offered by the thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* (ed. L. Constans [Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1904-12]). Take, for instance, vs. 7660: *Co est Hector, quil deveit estre*. N (beginning of thirteenth century) gives *qui deveit e.*; K and E (both from middle of thirteenth century), together with R (latter part of thirteenth century), read: *C'est H. qui bien le dut e.*; P² (thirteenth century) has *bien le d. e.*; D and M (both thirteenth century) have *qui dut bien e.*

³⁷ Cf. Mussafia, *Zur Kritik und Interpretation romanischer Texte*, II (in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Vienna, 1896]), 52.

be doubted that the *Escoufle* preceded *Guillaume de Dole*. Language indices make it improbable that the life of the author of the *Escoufle* extended very far into the thirteenth century. All the circumstances, in short, accord in indicating that the *gentil conte en Hainaut* to whom Renart addressed his poem (vs. 9060) cannot have been a count subsequent to Baldwin VI, who departed for the Holy Land in 1202. This date may be regarded as an *ad quem* as firmly established as it is ordinarily possible to obtain for works of the period.

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V. FREDERIC KOENIG

THE WOMAN'S PRIZE, OR THE TAMER TAMED

FLETCHER'S *Woman's prize*, or *The tamer tamed*, although it has generally been recognized as one of the most ingenious and rollicking comedies in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, has for the most part been studied and discussed by critics with attention principally upon *The taming of the shrew*. This tendency to think of the two plays together has led not only to frequent failure to estimate fully Fletcher's comic skill but as well to several false conclusions about *The woman's prize*. Gayley and Oliphant wrote of it as a "continuation of" or "sequel to" *The taming of the shrew*. Macaulay, more guardedly and more accurately, called it a "supposed continuation." Chambers considered it an "answer" to Shakspeare's comedy. Fleay saw in it an attempt by Fletcher to ridicule his predecessor—an interpretation which greatly annoyed Ward, who viewed it rather as the younger dramatist's generous tribute to his master.

In dating *The woman's prize*, scholars have expressed opinions equally divergent. Fleay¹ placed it between 1613 and 1616; Thorndike² and Oliphant³ assigned it to 1603 or 1604; Schelling⁴ thought it written "perhaps as early as 1606, if not in 1604"; Lawrence⁵ dated it 1608 and Gayley⁶ "ca. 1615."

Aside from the obvious debt to *The taming of the shrew*, there have been advanced only two arguments in support of the early dating, both of them allusions which, it is maintained, would have been applicable "in and only shortly after 1604." In Act I, scene iii, Sophocles reports to Petruchio that the chamber in which his bride has fortified herself is

nothing but a mere Ostend,
In every window pewter cannons mounted.

¹ *Biographical chronicle of the English drama*, I, 198.

² *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*, pp. 70-72; *English comedy*, pp. 192, 607-8.

³ *The plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, pp. 152-54.

⁴ *Elizabethan drama*, I, 341.

⁵ See Oliphant, p. 152.

⁶ *Representative English comedies*, III, lxvi-lxvii.

To Mr. Oliphant, who insists "there are few things more certain in relation to Elizabethan drama than the determination to make allusions topical," this allusion to the siege of Ostend, which ended September 8, 1604, proves that the play was written not much after if not before that date. So strongly, indeed, is he convinced of the weight of this argument that he must accept the early date even though "I find it hard to believe that Fletcher's style matured so early, and that he had his wonderful gift of vituperation in full working order at almost the commencement of his career." He is led to suggest, therefore, "that Fletcher almost entirely rewrote the play some years later, but left in the reference to Ostend."⁷ Although I am willing to accept Mr. Oliphant's view that the Elizabethan dramatists sought to make their allusions topical, I am not ready to believe that a reference to such an important and memorable event as the siege of Ostend must needs be topical, an event of which Fletcher in *Love's cure*, I, i, wrote:

. . . Ostend's bloody siege, that stage of war,
Wherein the flower of many nations acted
And the whole Christian world spectators were.

Certainly Ostend, like Waterloo and the Battle of the Marne, passed into the realm of figurative language to be used until its significance was forgotten or until its place was usurped by a siege more recent. References to it occur in several Beaumont and Fletcher plays. In addition to the lines quoted from *Love's cure*, which suggest its imaginative appeal, Ostend is used in *The coxcomb*, II, ii, to connote the strongest fortress which can be conceived:

When they take a thief, I'll take Ostend again.

So is it used in Jonson's *Silent woman* (1609), a play, as will be noted later, to which Fletcher seems to allude in *The woman's prize*. In IV, i, of Jonson's play Truewit observes:

A man should not doubt to overcome any woman. Think he can vanquish 'em, and he shall; for though they deny, their desire is to be tempted. Penelope herself cannot hold out long. Ostend, you saw, was taken at last. You must persevere, and hold to your purpose. . . .

⁷ P. 153.

In all these passages Ostend is clearly intended to suggest the strongest and most complete fortification which can be conceived. Noteworthy is it also, perhaps, that in both *The silent woman* and *The woman's prize* Ostend is used in connection with woman's defense against man. There is no more reason, certainly, for thinking that one more than the other must have been penned immediately after the siege.

That the second allusion which has been pointed out in support of an early date for the play is topical there can be no doubt, but it contributes little in determining a definite date for the play. In his *English comedy* Professor Thorndike wrote:

I think no one has called attention to the evidence for the date in I, iii, "These are the most authentic rebels next Tyrone, I ever read of." Tyrone submitted in 1603 and was in London that summer. In II, i, "It had been no right rebellion Had she held off," may also allude to Tyrone's submission. These references indicate a date of 1603-4 for the play, though they might possibly fit a date of 1607-8.⁸

It is no little surprise to find such reasoning in the writings of Professor Thorndike. Clearly he has, in the absence of all other evidence, accepted as topical the allusion to Ostend and is eagerly looking for supporting evidence. He completely disregards the subsequent career of Tyrone and sinks into absurdity when he suggests that the passage in II, i, "may also allude to Tyrone's submission." It is difficult to account for the "also," there being in the first passage certainly no allusion to any submission. Neither is there in the second (II, i).⁹ The lines "'t had been no right rebellion Had she held off" are spoken by Petruchio when he learns that Livia, to escape marriage with the elderly Morosco, has joined his rebellious wife and her cousin in their citadel. Far from alluding to any submission, the lines merely state that the rebellion is now complete.

Although Professor Thorndike admitted that the reference to Tyrone "might possibly fit a date of 1607-8," the implication of his paragraph is that Tyrone's submission in 1603 marked the close of his career as a rebel. It did not. Having made his submission to James in 1603, Tyrone returned to Ireland and almost immediately was em-

⁸ *English comedy*, pp. 607-8.

⁹ In Dyce's edition, II, iv. In all references to the play I follow the text of Dyce.

broiled in fresh disputes with the government. In 1607, hearing that his arrest was imminent, he fled Ireland on September 14. Howes records that on November 16 "Proclamation was made concerning the sodayne flight of Tyrone, and the rest, wherein was declared their purpose and practice to exterpe the English Nation out of Ireland, and to conferre and yeelde the Kingdome of Ireland to the Pope, and the Earle of Tyrones soliciting forreyne princes to attempt the conquest thereof."¹⁰ Welcomed by the Pope and by the King of Spain, Tyrone continued until his death in July, 1616, to cause uneasiness and be the subject of many reports in England. In March, 1608, William Udall wrote the Bishop of Bristol, affirming confidently that Tyrone "intends to seize Chester and head a rebellion in Ireland."¹¹ Late in 1609 the Venetian ambassador in England advised his government that the King of England was "watching the movements of the Earl of Tyrone, as he holds it certain that the present conjunction of affairs will tempt the Pope to foment some of his old designs. I have this from a very sure source."¹² Tyrone received further publicity in England in 1610, when his lands were at last divided at the time of the plantation of Ireland. In December of that year an examination of a sailor, F. Maguir, revealed that he had met the Earl of Tyrone at the Spanish court, and that an effort had been made to persuade him to join troops to be sent by the King of Spain in the hope of inducing the Irish to rebel.¹³ Rumors of the Earl's plan to invade Ireland evidently persisted as late as April, 1614, on the twenty-first of which month Carleton received a letter from Archbishop Abbott, who "asks whether the Earl of Tyrone intends to come nearer, as reported, and if a Roman nobleman has engaged his fortune to attend him in Ireland."¹⁴ Obviously an allusion to Tyrone as the arch-rebel would have been no more topical in 1603-4 than at any time during the following decade.

As neither the allusion to Ostend nor that to Tyrone can be recognized as offering any evidence for a definite date, there remains to support an early date merely the vague feeling that, to quote Sir Edmund Chambers, "an answer to *The Taming of the Shrew* would

¹⁰ *Chronicles* (1615), p. 890.

¹¹ *CSP, Domestic*, March 19, 1608.

¹² *CSP, Venetian*, October 15, 1609.

¹³ *CSP, Domestic*, December 16, 1610.

¹⁴ *CSP, Domestic*, April 21, 1614.

have more point the nearer it came to the date of the original." That, of course, would be true if Shakspeare's comedy enjoyed a brief success and then was heard no more. But is there any reason to believe that *The shrew* was not from time to time revived? As the earliest date suggested for the composition of *The woman's prize* is ten years after the production of *The shrew* and as the stage history of the latter is completely unknown, there surely can be little weight to the argument that an "answer" to it was more likely to have been written in the eleventh year after its first production than in the fifteenth or eighteenth.

Moreover, it is doubtful whether Fletcher's play was originally intended as an answer to *The taming of the shrew*. Certainly it cannot properly be regarded as a continuation of the story told by Shakspeare, even though it would seem to have been so regarded by the King's men in 1633, when it was revived by them and presented at court on the evening following a performance of *The shrew*. These coincident revivals have, I believe, led critics to exaggerate the similarities between the two plays and, accordingly, Fletcher's debt to Shakspeare. If one were preparing a continuation to *The taming of the shrew*, it would be natural to lay the scene in Italy. Fletcher's scene is London. As the names of most (not all) of the dramatis personae are Italian, Oliphant assumed that Fletcher, re-writing the play, discarded his original Italian setting in favor of an English setting. For such a revision it is difficult to perceive the motive, or to understand how an intelligent reviser could obliterate all Italian coloring and introduce so many English allusions, and yet retain Italian names for the principal characters. The play is crowded with local allusions. To name but a few, there are references to Lancashire, Kingston, Lincoln, Sturbridge, and Sedgely; to London Bridge, Blackfriars, Smithfield, Dog's Ditch, and Thames Street; to St. Dunstan and St. George; to Harrygroats, bear-baiting, Puritans, and Maypoles. In IV, iii, Bianca says "I speak good honest English," and in V, iv, Petruchio addresses "little England." From the last-mentioned scene and from IV, v, it is clear not only that Petruchio is, in spite of his name, an Englishman, but also, as shown by the encouragement Maria gives his plan to travel, that he has never been out of England. The references to England and to things English are, indeed, vastly more numerous in

The woman's prize than are the references to the earlier incidents in Petruchio's life as recounted by Shakspeare.

Professor Benham writes of Fletcher's having "studied" *The taming of the shrew*.¹⁵ It is hard for an admirer to admit that Fletcher could have proved so dull a student, for at best *The woman's prize* reveals a very distant and cloudy recollection of the Shakspearean farce. In the *dramatis personae* of the two plays there are three names in common: Petruchio, Tranio, and Bianca. Neither Katharina nor any other of the Shakspearean characters is mentioned by name in the later play. Neither the two Biancas nor the two Tranios have anything in common. The quiet sister of Petruchio's first wife merely furnishes a name for the stout-hearted cousin of his second wife; and Tranio is promoted from the servant ranks to be a gentleman and a friend of Petruchio. Not even Petruchio himself remains the same. It probably is of no significance in the present discussion that, instead of wearing the outlandish costume which contributed much to the comedy of *The shrew* and would have proved equally effective in an answer or a sequel, Petruchio appears for his second wedding as the "trim" bridegroom.¹⁶ Although the Petruchio of Fletcher is not without spirit, the difference in his wedding costume suggests the change his character has undergone. It is hard to understand how one even slightly familiar with the Shakspearean tamer could present him as one whose still and even temper had been lastingly distorted by the "hue and cries" of Katharina. But in Fletcher's comedy no fewer than three characters testify to Petruchio's even temper before his first marriage. Moroso recalls that his first wife

Out of her most abundant sourness,
Out of her daily hue and cries upon him,
(For, sure, she was a rebel,) turn'd his temper,
And forc'd him blow as high as she . . . [I, i; ed. Dyce, VII, 102].

Tranio also testifies to Petruchio's earlier moderation, and makes one doubt whether his first wife had indeed ever been tamed. Up to the time of Petruchio's second marriage, Tranio tells us,

¹⁵ *Modern language notes*, XXXVIII (1923), 252.

¹⁶ I, iii; ed. Dyce, VII, 118.

.... the bare remembrance of his first wife
Will make him start in 's sleep, and very often
Cry out for cudgels, colestaves, any thing;
Hiding his breeches, out of fear her ghost
Should walk, and wear 'em yet. Since his first marriage,
He is no more the still Petruchio
Than I am Babylon [I, i; ed. Dyce, pp. 102-3].

And Bianca warns his second wife that

.... since his first wife set him going
Nothing can bind his rage [I, ii; ed. Dyce, p. 107].

The suggestion in the foregoing passages that the first wife had not been so successfully tamed as was Katharina is supported even by the evidence of Petruchio himself. Although Maria twits him with being "famous for a woman-tamer," Petruchio, cursing the fate that had led him to marry "this second wife, this whirlwind," asks:

.... was I not well warned
And beaten to repentance, in the days
Of my first doting? had I not wife enough
To turn my love too? did I want vexation,
Or any special care to kill my heart?
Had I not every morning a rare breakfast,
Mix'd with a learned lecture of ill-language,
Louder than Tom o' Lincoln? and at dinner
A diet of the same dish? was there evening
That e'er pass'd over us without *thou knave*,
Or *thou whore*, for digestion?
.... and did Heaven forgive me,
And take this serpent from me, and am I
Keeping tame devils now again? [III, ii; ed. Dyce, p. 162].

It is difficult to believe that Fletcher intended this to be a picture of the wedded life of Petruchio and Katharina. If indeed he so intended, his knowledge of the early play was slight. His "study" of *The shrew* certainly did not extend beyond the fourth act. The passages which contradict *The taming of the shrew* are much more numerous than those which allude clearly and correctly to the older play. One is, therefore, forced to conclude that *The woman's prize* was originally not a studied continuation of or answer to *The taming of the shrew*,

and either that Fletcher's familiarity with the older play was slight and mainly based on report or that the passages in his play which glance back at Shakspeare's were added later, perhaps at a time when the play was given its alternate title of *The tamer tamed*. The former view is perhaps the safer, but it no more than the second argues for an early date for *The woman's prize*.

Although the allusions to Ostend and to Tyrone can be of only slight value in determining a definite date for *The woman's prize*, the play contains a number of other allusions which offer more particular evidence. Of these, several point to a date in or after late 1610, while one, more general, would be topical only in and immediately after the period 1607-9. In Act II, scene ii, Bianca observes that Moroso's

everlasting cassock . . . has worn
As many servants out, as the North-East passage
Has consum'd sailors.

The existence of a northeast passage had been first suggested by Sebastian Cabot during the reign of Henry VIII, but it was not until 1553 that the search for it was begun. Of the three ships sent out in that year by the Company of Merchant Adventurers in quest of a northeast passage, two, driven far out to sea, landed on the coast of Lapland, where the crews, totaling seventy, perished of cold and hunger. The passage was again the object of English expeditions in 1556 and 1580, the latter being the last authenticated English search for the Northeast Passage prior to the voyages of Hudson in 1607, 1608, and 1609.¹⁷ During the last decade of the sixteenth century, in 1594, 1595, and 1596, three Dutch expeditions sought to find the passage, and an account of the voyages was written by Gerrit de Veer. An English translation entitled *True and perfect description of three voyages* was prepared by William Philip and entered upon the Stationers' Register on June 13, 1598. The publication was, however, delayed. It was re-entered on May 15, 1609,¹⁸ and appeared sometime during that year. There can be little doubt that its publication in 1609 was occasioned by the interest in Hudson's third voyage, on which he had sailed the month before and which, like his earlier voy-

¹⁷ G. M. Asher, *Henry Hudson* ("Hakluyt Society publications," Ser. I), XXVII, cxxx.

¹⁸ See the introduction to the reprint in "Hakluyt Society publications," Vol. LIV (1876).

ages of 1607 and 1608, had as its original purpose¹⁹ the search for a northeast passage. When, however, he was confronted by an unbroken barrier of ice near Nova Zembla, Hudson abandoned the search for an eastern passage and sailed west in hope of finding a northwest passage. On his fourth and last voyage (1610-11) Hudson likewise sailed to the northwest. Never again during Fletcher's life is there recorded an English search for a northeast passage, although in the next six years there were no fewer than six expeditions sent in search of a northwest passage. Possibly the two passages were at first confused in the popular mind, and it may have been assumed that the purpose of Hudson's fourth voyage was the same as that of his earlier attempts, but the only period during the seventeenth century in which the English people could have been much interested in the search for a northeast passage was that of the four Hudson voyages from 1607 to 1610-11. That Fletcher should refer to the Northeast Passage at all suggests, I think, that he was writing in or after 1607; that he should refer to it rather than the Northwest Passage as a consumer of men suggests that he was writing before September, 1611, when the survivors of Hudson's voyage to the northwest reached England with their tragic tale of how Hudson with eight others had by mutineers been set adrift in small boats to perish and how on the hazardous voyage home some of the mutineers had been killed by Eskimos and others had died of starvation. The only comparable disaster was that of the first voyage to the northeast in 1553. As this last voyage of Hudson was the most disastrous of all such northern expeditions during Fletcher's life, it is possible that Fletcher had confused the object of this voyage with the original object of Hudson's three earlier voyages and that he is here referring to the loss of Hudson and a large proportion of his crew. But whether that be true or not, as the only English searches for the Northeast Passage between 1580 and the death of Fletcher were the voyages of Hudson and as the account of the Dutch expeditions of the 1590's was not printed in England until 1609, it seems hardly likely that he would introduce a reference to the Northeast Passage before 1607.

Such a view is supported by a second topical allusion which is more definite in its suggestion of a date. In Act III, scene ii, in a speech

¹⁹ Asher, pp. iii-iv.

which has already been quoted in part, Petruchio, telling of the unhappiness of his first marriage, asks:

Had I not every morning a rare breakfast,
Mix'd with a learned lecture of ill-language,
Louder than Tom o' Lincoln?

Although the present great bell of Lincoln Cathedral, popularly known as "Great Tom," dates only from 1855, it is the successor of two earlier great bells. The first, which had graced the cathedral during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "was re-cast in Dean Stanton's time, Dec. 3, 1610, by Holdfield of Nottingham and Newcomb of Leicester."²⁰ It was hung in the northwest tower of the cathedral and "christened 'Great Tom of Lincoln,' 1610."²¹

North, in his *Church bells of Lincolnshire*, gives an "extract from the muniments of the Dean and Chapter, headed 'Conc'neing y^e greate Bell,' and bearing the date 'xxx die Januarii' of that year 1610/11. . . . On Sunday, Jan. 27, 1611, the bell having been hung up, 'range owt and all safe and well.'"²² The allusion to the loud sound of Tom o' Lincoln would, therefore, clearly be most apt near the beginning of the year 1611.

Other allusions also point to 1610-11. In supporting his view of a later date for *The woman's prize*, Professor Gayley called attention to several apparent echoes of two of Jonson's plays, *The silent woman* (1609) and *The alchemist* (1610):

One of the minor characters, called Moroso, may very well be a reminiscence of Morose in Jonson's *Silent Woman* (1610), for, says Sophocles in the presence of Moroso (III, i), "I never will believe a silent woman, When they break forth they are bonfires." Fletcher's Moroso was probably attired to recall the singular appearance of Jonson's hypochondriac "with the huge turban of nightcaps on his head buckled over his ears," for, says Petronius of *The Woman's Prize* to Moroso, "Burn your Nightcap, It looks like half a winding sheet" (IV, i). In the same catalogue of advice we find "contrive your beard o' the top cut, like Verdugo's"—and in Jonson's *Alchemist* we have mention of "his great Verdugo-ship" (III, ii). This name for a hangman

²⁰ *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, arranged by Henry Bradshaw (1897), Part II, p. 604 n.

²¹ Rawnsley, *Highways and byways in Lincolnshire*, p. 99. Another allusion to the great sound of Tom of Lincoln is to be found in *The nightwalker*, III, ii, upon the date of which play I hope soon to publish a brief note.

²² J. J. Raven, *Bells of England*, pp. 249-50.

is of rare occurrence. The coincidence of Jonsonisms in connection with a Jonsonian character of 1610 may indicate that date as the upper limit of composition for *The Woman's Prize*.²³

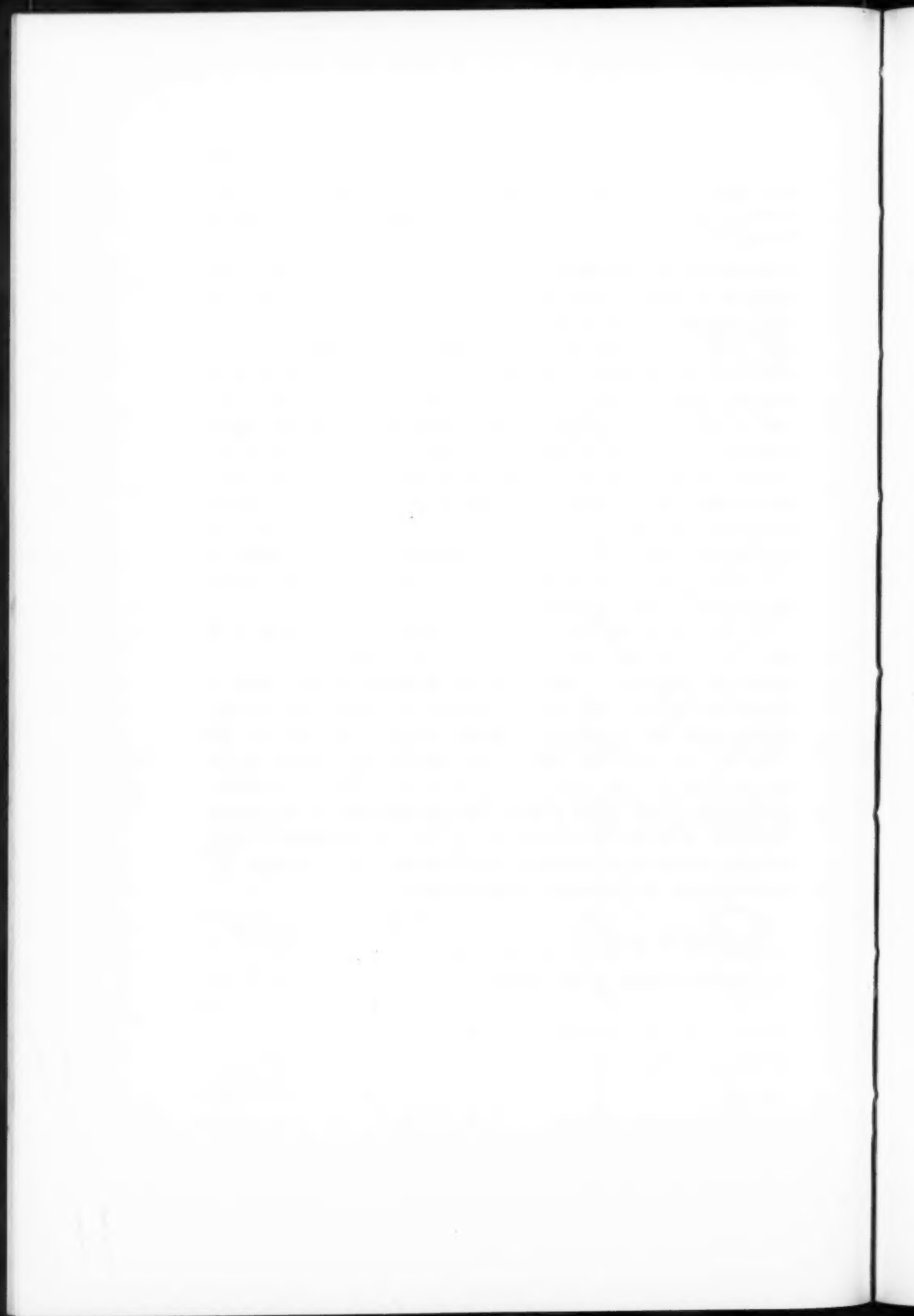
Professor Gayley's suggestion that Fletcher introduced reminiscences of Jonson is rendered more likely by the references already noted, nor is it weakened by the occurrence in Act II, scene i, of *The scornful lady*, a play which can be definitely assigned to 1609-10, of both *Verdugo* and references to the nightcaps of Sir Roger. These reminiscences, however, hardly support Professor Gayley's dating of the play "c. 1615"—a date which he selects because of the general "similarity to *Wit without Money*" and because he assumes that *The woman's prize*, being wholly Fletcher's, was written after Beaumont's retirement in 1613. The reminiscences of *The silent woman*, especially if Fletcher intended the attire of Moroso "to recall the singular appearance of Jonson's hypochondriac," would indicate a date much closer to the production of that play, for *The silent woman* was presumably not a popular play.

The date which would best suit all the allusions would appear to be early 1611. *The silent woman* would have been sufficiently recent to permit the audience to appreciate the similarity in the attires of Moroso and Morose. The rebel Tyrone was still feared as likely at any time to come with foreign aid to attack Ireland; in December of the preceding year the Privy Council was investigating a report that he and the King of Spain were attempting to incite an Irish rebellion. In the same month Great Tom of Lincoln was hung in the Lincoln Cathedral. Hudson, recently convinced that the Northeast Passage was inaccessible or nonexistent, was exploring the northwest, the fearful tragedy of the voyage not yet enacted.

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²³ *Representative English comedies*, III, lxvi.



ON THE GENESIS OF *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*

WITH the publication of Mr. Harold Golder's studies of *Pilgrim's progress*, many false opinions, fostered by Bunyan's own statements, have been disproved and the character of the man himself rendered more interesting. The debt of the famous dreamer to the reading of his youth, presumably before his conversion, his addiction to "beastly romances and books full of Ribbauldry," as he later styled them,¹ and the manner in which, consciously or unconsciously, he wove chivalric ideas into the fabric of *Pilgrim's progress*—all this Mr. Golder has clearly revealed.² No longer may Bunyan's asseverations, such as "My Bible and Concordance are my only library in my writings,"³ be exaggerated to mean that he had never read books other than those of religion. Even the Bible, as Golder remarks, was to his youthful eyes a "romance," and he was captivated solely by the historical part—"as for Paul's Epistles, and such like Scriptures, I could not away with them."⁴

But while Professor Golder has shown conclusively the influence of romance literature upon *Pilgrim's progress*, one phase of the background of Bunyan's dream has never been explored; namely, the idea of Christian's journey as it grew and expanded and found utterance in the early works of the mechanick preacher. It is a commonplace that the creative imagination does not build the vision splendid from fragments of nothing, but shapes long-accumulated material into a new pattern. The material in Bunyan's mind, chivalric romance, the Bible, theological and devotional tracts, martyrologies, and personal experience, was in a constant state of flux. Long before 1676 the elements of his dream had been employed, some at one time, some at another, in various of his works; and though these elements were in-

¹ *The life and death of Mr. Badman*, ed. John Brown (Cambridge, 1905), p. 43.

² See "John Bunyan's hypocrisy," *North American review*, June, 1926; "Bunyan's Valley of the shadow," *MP*, Vol. XXVII (1929); "Bunyan and Spenser," *PMLA*, Vol. XXXV (1930); and "Bunyan's Giant Despair," *Journal of English and Germanic philology*, Vol. XXX (1931).

³ *Solomon's Temple spiritualis'd*, III, 464 (*Works of John Bunyan*, ed. George Offor [London, 1852-53]).

⁴ *Grace abounding*, ed. John Brown (Cambridge, 1907), p. 14.

choate, were "only a confused mass of thoughts, tumbling over one another in the dark,"⁵ and far from their ultimate combination, the "sleeping images" nevertheless were fecund and moving toward the light, where some were rejected, others chosen and used.

As early as the spiritual conflict recorded in *Grace abounding*, Bunyan had the first of his waking dreams:

About this time, the state and happiness of these poor people at Bedford was thus, in a kind of Vision, presented to me: I saw, as if they were set on the Sunny-side of some high Mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the Sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the Cold, afflicted with Frost, Snow, and dark Clouds: Me-thought also, betwixt me and them, I saw a Wall that did compass about this Mountain; now through this Wall my Soul did greatly desire to pass; concluding, that if I could, I would go even into the very midst of them, and there also comfort my self with the heat of their Sun.

About this Wall I thought my self to go again and again, still prying as I went, to see if I could find some way or passage, by which I might enter therein; but none could I find for some time: At the last, I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little door-way, in the Wall, thorough which I attempted to pass: Now the passage being very strait and narrow, I made many offers to get in, but all in vain, even until I was well nigh quite beat out by striving to get in; at last with great striving, me-thought I at first did get in my head, and after that, by a sideling striving, my shoulders, and my whole body: Then was I exceeding glad, and went and sate down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their Sun.⁶

To Bunyan, living in the seventeenth century, a "vision" was of trivial import as compared to its interpretation. Our main interest in this dream, however, is in the conception revealed, the conception of a struggle from a state of "evil" to one of "good," involving passage through obstacles by means of a gate which Bunyan identifies with Christ.⁷ This view of life as an arduous journey toward a heavenly goal persisted in his mind and writings, and was destined finally to receive its fullest and most perfect expression in *Pilgrim's progress*.

Other ideas incorporated in *Grace abounding* later bore fruit. The accusations and allurements of Apollyon and his agents in *Pilgrim's progress* are objectifications of Bunyan's own experiences as told in his autobiography—and this belief, though not new, I emphasize. Time

⁵ John Dryden, "Epistle Dedicatory to *The rival ladies*" (*Essays*, ed. Ker, I, 1).

⁶ *Grace abounding*, pp. 20-21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

and again in the earlier work he avows, "The Tempter . . . strongly suggested to me";⁸ "now also did the Tempter begin to mock me";⁹ "then the Tempter again laid at me very sore."¹⁰ In his despair, "I did liken my self . . . unto the case of some child that was fallen into a Mill-pit; who, though it could make some shift to scabble and sprawl in the water, yet because it could find neither hold for hand nor foot, therefore at last it must die in that condition."¹¹ The Slough of Despond, evidently, was vivid in Bunyan's mind before 1653. "Then methought I should see," he continues, "as if both Peter, and Paul, and John, and all the Writers, did look with scorn upon me. . . . These, as the Elders of the City of Refuge, I saw, were to be the Judges both of my case and me, while I stood, with the Avenger of blood at my heels, trembling at their Gate for deliverance."¹² These also were the ones, years later, who admitted Christian into the celestial city.

Another analogy which exists in *Grace abounding* is the Valley of the Shadow, a fancy which is perceptible in Bunyan's own experience when, as he says, "I was suddenly and violently seized, with much weakness in my outward man: insomuch that I thought I could not live." Then came "flocking into my mind, an innumerable company of my Sins and Transgressions. . . . For I find he [Satan] is much for assaulting the Soul, when it begins to approach towards the Grave, then is his Opportunity. . . . At another time, though, just before, I was pretty well and savoury in my Spirit, yet suddenly there fell upon me a great cloud of darkness."¹³ The juxtaposition of the elements in this account and in *Pilgrim's progress* is striking. In both we find Satan, or Apollyon; in the one, "an innumerable company of my Sins and Transgressions" is very similar to the fearful threatenings of unseen things and to the "company of Fiends" which Christian meets in the Valley, as told in the other;¹⁴ the coming of darkness just after

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 65. See also Bunyan's description of these beings in *The Holy City* (1665) in *Works*, ed. Offor, III, 413-14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80. Bunyan elsewhere speaks of the dangers which beset the Christian who is ill and fearful—"fears that are begotten by the review of the sin, perhaps, of forty years' profession; fears that are begotten by dreadful and fearful suggestions of the devil, the sight of death, and the grave, and it may be of hell itself. . . . Sick-bed temptations are oftentimes the most violent, because then the devil plays his last game with us" (*Saved by grace*, in *Works*, ed. Offor, I, 340-41). See also *The barren fig-tree*, *ibid.*, III, 580, 585.

In "John Bunyan's hypocrisy" (p. 327) Golder says that the Valley of the Shadow "symbolizes the dread of death in a state of unregeneration."

¹⁴ *Pilgrim's progress*, ed. John Brown (Cambridge, 1907), p. 190.

feeling "well and savoury in my Spirit" parallels Christian's entering into the Valley after his victory over Apollyon; and in both cases the conquest of spiritual foes is acknowledged by the lifting of darkness and the rising of the sun. In the Valley, also, Christian—and Bunyan emphasizes the happening—is beset by "one of the wicked ones," who "whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind."¹⁵ Not easily could Bunyan forget the two years of spiritual agony he had undergone when Satan had tempted him to "sell Christ." It was the most harrowing experience of all those terrible early years.¹⁶

With the exception of *Grace abounding*, most of Bunyan's publications, until *Pilgrim's progress*, were doctrinal in character, and though in certain of their phrases may be seen incipient metaphors of the allegory, the scope of this study prohibits a detailed analysis of them. However, at some time during this earlier period he wrote a tract which, in plan as well as detail, foreshadows *Pilgrim's progress*. Its title—a title in every term significant—is as follows: *The heavenly footman: or, a description of the man that gets to heaven: together with the way he runs in, the marks he goes by: also some directions how to run, so as to obtain.*¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁶ *Grace abounding*, pp. 42–59.

¹⁷ *The heavenly footman*, ed. from the first edition by Mabel Peacock (Oxford, 1892).

Although *The heavenly footman* remained in manuscript until 1698, when it was published by Charles Doe, who had obtained it in 1691 from Bunyan's eldest son, I am convinced that it is an early work. In it (p. 273) Bunyan advises those who would know more of the grace of Christ to consult his "Book of the two covenants" (published in 1659 as *The doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded*). *The heavenly footman* was therefore written after 1659. In it also (p. 272), referring to the various Puritan sects, he says: "I have observed, that little time which I have been a Professor, that there is a great running to and fro, some this way, and some that way, yet it is to be feared most of them are out of the way." To my mind, the allusion to "that little time which I have been a Professor" is explicit, and cannot be ascribed entirely to Bunyan's habitual self-depreciation. In *A relation of my imprisonment*, written in 1672, Bunyan remarks (*Grace abounding*, p. 94) that at the time of his arrest in 1660 he had "made Profession of the Glorious Gospel of Christ a long time." Though *The heavenly footman*, in which he says that he has been a professor a "little time," could not have been written before 1659, and though he says later that in 1660 he had been a professor "a long time," such contradictions in Bunyan's works are not uncommon. From the latter quotation, however, we may draw one conclusion: it is extremely unlikely that, at any time after 1672, in a manner depreciatory or otherwise, Bunyan would say he had been a professor a "little time"; such an admission would have been characteristic during, say, the early 1660's, when his evangelical career was yet in its first stages; but if we remember, after all, that when he wrote *Pilgrim's progress* he had been a professor for at least twenty-three years, we may confidently assume that *The heavenly footman* is the earlier work.

One other bit of proof may be adduced. Shortly after the remark quoted above from *The heavenly footman*, Bunyan tells his reader (p. 273): "Be sure to have a care of Quakers,

Prefixed to *The heavenly footman*, as to many of Bunyan's works, is an "Author's epistle," wherein he exhorts his reader to action. "The Sluggard shall have nothing, that is, be never the better for his crying for Mercy. . . . He that is slothful, is loth to set about the Work he should follow. So is he that is slothful for Heaven."¹⁸ Objection may be offered, he admits, that "if I should set in, and run as you would have me, then I must Run from all my Friends . . . [and] from all my Sins. . . . I shall be hated, and lose the love of my Friends and Relations . . . and I shall be mocked of all my Neighbours."¹⁹ These passages suggest immediately Christian's dilemma in *Pilgrim's progress*. In reply to his tale of woe and cry, "What shall I do to be saved?" Evangelist merely queries, "If this be thy Condition, why standest thou still?" Whereupon Christian, moved to action, leaves family and friends and runs from the City of Destruction, and "the Neighbours . . . came out to see him run, and as he ran, some mocked, others threatned, and some cried after him to return."²⁰ In a tone much like

Ranters, Free-Willers. Also do not have too much Company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name my self." Such a half-hearted acceptance of one sect's creed, together with an impression, as stated before, that doctrinal quibbling leads to no good end, might be expected of a recently converted Bunyan. In *The Holy City*, published in 1665, his attitude is more positive; of the millennium he says, "It shall not be then as now, a Popish doctrine, a Quaker's doctrine, a prelatical doctrine, and the Presbyter, Independent, and Anabaptist, thus distinguished, and thus confounding and destroying. But the doctrine shall be one" (*Works*, ed. Offor, III, 419). By 1674, during his controversy with d'Anvers and Paul over baptism, which Bunyan held to be no necessary ritual, he had become even more blunt in his denial of Anabaptism: "You ask me next, 'How long is it since I was a Baptist?' and then add, 'It is an ill bird that bewrays his own nest.' . . . Since you would know by what name I would be distinguished from others; I tell you, I would be, and hope I am a CHRISTIAN; and choose, if God should count me worthy, to be called a Christian. . . . And as for those factious titles of Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians, or the like, I conclude, that they came neither from Jerusalem, nor Antioch, but rather from hell and Babylon; for they naturally tend to divisions" (*Peaceable principles and true*, in *Works*, ed. Offor, II, 648-49). Clearly these remarks indicate the progression of Bunyan's thought from the half-skeptical acceptance of one sect's creed to the broader and more tolerant Christianity of his later years.

It is my belief that *The heavenly footman* was written during Bunyan's twelve-year imprisonment. Many reasons might be advanced for the book's remaining in manuscript. The shop of Francis Smith, Bunyan's publisher during the earlier half of that imprisonment, was often raided by government officials; at the time *Grace abounding* was published Smith was incarcerated with Bunyan. It is also probable that some of Bunyan's books and manuscripts were destroyed or misplaced during the time of the fire of London (cf. Brown, *John Bunyan, his life, times, and work* [2d ed.; Boston, 1886], pp. 181 ff.) The manuscript of *The heavenly footman* may thus have been lost for years. If we suppose that the book was written between 1666 and 1672, it would help to fill that barren period of Bunyan's literary productivity—a barrenness which Brown (p. 185) suggests may have been due to strict governmental supervision of the press.

¹⁸ *The heavenly footman*, p. 258.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁰ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 144.

that of Evangelist, Bunyan concludes his epistle in *The heavenly footman*: "Arise Man, be slothful no longer, set Foot and Heart and all into the way of God, and Run, the Crown is at the end of the Race."²¹

The text for his discourse Bunyan takes from Paul, and he begins by paraphrasing the appeal to the Corinthians: "First, Not to be wicked, and sit still, and wish for Heaven; but to Run for it. . . . As if he should say, some, because they would not lose their Souls, they begin to Run betimes, they Run apace, they Run with patience, they Run the right way. . . . Some Run from both Father,²² Mother, Friends and Companions. . . . Some Run through Temptations, Afflictions, good Report, evil Report."²³ The person of Evangelist in *Pilgrim's progress*, I believe, may with certainty be identified with the Apostle,²⁴ and the appearance of the two, Paul and Evangelist, at similar points in the two works, gains significance as we follow Bunyan through *The heavenly footman*.

Thus, in the exordium of *The heavenly footman* is sounded the theme of *Pilgrim's progress*. The theory of life as a pilgrimage and a race to be run through obstacles, Christian's cry ("What shall I do to be saved?"), Evangelist's answer, and the flight of Christian from home and friends—all are paralleled in the earlier work. As to this flight, or "running," Bunyan further explains: "Observe, that . . . it is called a Flying. . . . In another place is called a pressing . . . which signifieth, that they that will have Heaven, they must not stick at any difficulties they meet with; but press, crowd and thrust thorow all that may stand between Heaven and their Souls."²⁵ In *Pilgrim's progress* also the heavenly journey is represented as a "flight" and a "pressing." On the roll which Evangelist gives to Christian are the words, "Fly from the Wrath to come"; and Christian accordingly "fled towards the middle of the Plain."²⁶ Again, when he is at Interpreter's

²¹ *The heavenly footman*, p. 261.

²² In a sense Bunyan himself "ran from his father" by setting his feet in the non-Conformist pathway. Brown (*John Bunyan, his life, etc.*, pp. 301-2) says that his father, who died in 1676, apparently remained in the fold of the national church. There is no evidence as to whether he approved or disapproved of his son's religious opinions.

²³ *The heavenly footman*, p. 267.

²⁴ G. B. Cheever, *Lectures on the Pilgrim's progress* (Glasgow, 1864), p. 24, remarks that the original of Evangelist was Mr. Gifford, a minister of Bedford Church (cf. *Grace abounding*, p. 37), who aided Bunyan in his religious troubles. Evangelist, however, might easily be representative of both, and Paul, "the great evangelist," appealed strongly to Bunyan.

²⁵ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 268-69.

²⁶ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 144.

House, Christian sees a beautiful palace—the Kingdom of Heaven—guarded by armed men, inhabited by persons "cloathed all in Gold." As he watches, a man comes up and signs his name in a book before the door; and "he saw the Man draw his Sword, and put an Helmet upon his Head, and rush toward the Door upon the armed Men, who laid upon him with deadly force . . . so that after he had received and given many Wounds to those that attempted to keep him out, he cuts his way through them all, and pressed forward into the Palace."²⁷ These similarities, it is true, are verbal only and may be without significance in themselves; but as we continue, and if we remember that Bunyan always tended to visualize and objectify even mere verbs of action, they gain importance.

In *The heavenly footman*, Bunyan proceeds to discuss the journey itself. "The way is long, (I speak Metaphorically) and there is many a dirty Step, many a high Hill, much Work to do, a wicked Heart, World and Devil to overcome. . . . Thou must Run a long and tedious journey, thorow the waste howling Wilderness, before thou come to the Land of Promise."²⁸ Here, in effect, is mapped the plot of *Pilgrim's progress*; the topography of the route is identical in both works. What is a "dirty Step" but a Slough of Despond? a "high Hill" but a Hill of Difficulty? a "waste howling Wilderness" but a "Wilderness, a Land of desarts, and of Pits, a Land of Drought"—in other words, the Valley of the Shadow? It is impossible not to feel that this conception of the pilgrimage was lingering in Bunyan's mind when he planned his allegory. He had, indubitably, an unusual memory; and the connection between the two works may have been even more direct.

Of all the dangers which confront the pilgrim-errant, Satan and hell are most to be feared. "There is never a poor Soul that is going to Heaven," warns Bunyan, "but the Devil, the Law, Sin, Death and Hell, makes after that Soul. . . . I will assure you the Devil is nimble; he can run apace . . . he hath overtaken many, he hath turn'd up their heels, and hath given them an everlasting fall. . . . Hell also hath a wide Mouth, it can stretch itself farther than you are aware of."²⁹ As we know, the devil, or Apollyon, did give Christian a fall—

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁸ *The heavenly footman*, p. 170.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

"gave him a dreadful fall";³⁰ and as for the mouth of hell, it gapes at various points along the pilgrim's roadway, a constant threat, and stretches, as the Dreamer finally realizes, "even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of Destruction."³¹

After this preliminary sketch of the footman's dangerous journey, Bunyan proceeds with the dilation, a lengthy account of the landmarks and hazards along the way. "If thou wouldest so Run as to obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, then be sure that thou get into the Way that leadeth thither. . . . If thou now say, which is the way? I tell thee it is CHRIST."³² He does not, however, employ here the metaphor of a gate, and though he later refers in *The heavenly footman* to "Heaven Gates, the Heart of Christ,"³³ the two ideas are not crystallized into one, as they are in *Grace abounding* and in *Pilgrim's progress*.

As a preparation for the journey, continues Bunyan, "thou must strip thy self of those things that may hang upon thee to the hindering of thee in the way to the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . Would you not say that . . . a Man would be in danger of losing, though he Run, if he fill his Pockets with Stones, hang heavy Garments on his Shoulders, and great lumpish Shoes on his Feet? . . . Thou talkest of going to Heaven, and yet . . . fillest thy Heart with this World, letttest that hang on thy Shoulders."³⁴ Here, very clearly, is the idea of the burden of sin which hung from the shoulders of Christian during part of his journey, a burden which he carried "not without great difficulty."³⁵

Once the pilgrim is in the right way and free of his burden of sin, he must "beware of by-paths, take heed thou dost not turn into those Lanes which lead out of the way. There are crooked Paths, Paths in which Men go astray, Paths that lead to Death and Damnation." A few lines further, Bunyan repeats, "Though the way to Heaven be but one, yet there are many crooked Lanes and by-paths, shoot down upon it . . . usually those by-paths are the most beaten, most Travelers go those ways."³⁶ Not only are the paths dangerous, but the travelers also. "Take heed that you have not an Ear open to every

³⁰ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 187.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³² *The heavenly footman*, pp. 272-73.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

³⁵ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 168.

³⁶ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 275-76. In *The Holy City* also (*Works*, ed. Offor, III, 437). Bunyan speaks of "those crossings, bye-lanes, and off nooks, that to this day many an honest heart doth greatly lose itself in."

one that calleth after you . . . thou shalt have enow call after thee, even the Devil, Sin, this World, vain Company, Pleasures, Profits . . . together with an innumerable Company of such Companions."³⁷ These perils, of course, are present at every turn of the road in *Pilgrim's progress*. No sooner does Christian start from the City of Destruction than he is waylaid by Mr. Worldly Wiseman, with nearly disastrous results. Evangelist finally rescues him and warns him "not to tread in forbidden paths"; and Good-will also tells him that "there are many ways BUTT down upon this: and they are crooked and wide."³⁸ Other companions, to his vexation and sorrow, attempt to lure Christian from the straight and narrow road, but he eludes them all, though not without some difficulty. Faithful, too, suffers from the blandishments of wicked ones, from Wanton and from Adam the First, from Discontent and Shame.

Despite the fact that the heavenly footman, like Christian, must be discreet in companionship, he must not be "too much in looking too high in . . . [his] Journey . . . lest happily . . . [he] in the mean time stumble, and catch a Fall. . . . follow not that proud and lofty Spirit, that, Devil-like, cannot be content with his own Station."³⁹ Accordingly, after leaving the House Beautiful, Christian descends into the Valley of Humiliation, during which he "caught a slip or two";⁴⁰ and in the Valley, just as Bunyan predicts above, he is assaulted by a proud, lofty, devil-like spirit—Apollyon himself. The dangers of such a meeting Bunyan describes at length in *The heavenly footman*: "That Man that is resolved for Heaven, if Satan cannot win him by flatteries, he will endeavour to weaken him by discouragements; saying, Thou art a sinner, thou hast broke God's Law, thou art not elected, thou comest too late . . . with a hundred other discouraging suggestions. . . . Then thou must encourage thy self with the freeness of the promises, the tender-heartedness of Christ . . . the greatness of the Sin of others that have been pardoned."⁴¹ In such a manner Apollyon treats with Christian. After flattering him with promises of "what our Countrey will afford," and promising aid "by power or fraud" in all his worldly activities, Apollyon "broke out into

³⁷ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 277-78.

³⁸ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 159.

³⁹ *The heavenly footman*, p. 277.

⁴⁰ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 184.

⁴¹ *The heavenly footman*, p. 279.

a grievous rage" and flung accusations at him. Would Christ save him, a sinner? "Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him," the monster reminds Christian, "and how dost thou think to receive Wages of him? . . . Thou didst faint at first setting out . . . thou diddest attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy Burden. . . . Thou didst sinfully sleep and lose thy choice things: thou wast also almost perswaded to go back at the sight of the Lions: and . . . thou art inwardly desirous of vain Glory in all that thou sayest or doest." To these charges Christian, a true heavenly footman, sturdily replies, "All this is true, and much more . . . but the Prince whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive."⁴²

Should defiance not prevail against Satan, proceeds Bunyan in *The heavenly footman*, the traveler must put his trust in God. "I say, take heart in thy Journey, and say to them that seek thy destruction, Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy; for when I fall I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me."⁴³ After the parley between Christian and Apollyon, they engage in deadly combat, until "Christian began to despair of Life. But as God would have it, while Apollyon was fetching his last blow . . . Christian nimbly stretched out his hand for his Sword, and caught it, saying, Rejoyce not against me, O mine Enemy, when I fall I shall arise."⁴⁴ The Lord is also a light in darkness to Christian, for after his battle he penetrates into the Valley of the Shadow, "which is as dark as pitch," and upon emerging into the dawn cries out, "He hath turned the shadow of Death into the Morning. . . . His Candle shineth on my head, and by his light I go through darkness."⁴⁵

Significant as are all these parallelisms between the two books, there is one other which is even more vivid. "Take heed of being offended at the Cross that thou must go by, before thou come to Heaven," observes Bunyan in *The heavenly footman*. "You must understand . . . that there is no Man that goeth to Heaven, but he

⁴² *Pilgrim's progress*, pp. 176-87. In his first book, *Some Gospel truths opened*, Bunyan describes satanic temptations in much the same language as above: "He laboureth . . . to keep thy conscience asleep in security and self-conceitedness . . . suggesting . . . worldly business which must be performed. . . . His [next] design is to drive thee to despair, by perswading thee that thy sins are too big to be pardoned" (*Works*, ed. Ofor, II: 132).

⁴³ *The heavenly footman*, p. 279.

⁴⁴ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 187.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-92.

must go by the Cross. . . . It stands, and hath stood from the beginning, as a way-mark to the Kingdom of Heaven."⁴⁶ The symbolical meaning of the cross, obviously, is represented in *Pilgrim's progress* by the struggles of Christian against adversity. After Mr. Worldly Wiseman attempts to show him a ready and easy way to heaven, Evangelist rebukes him for being "offended at the cross": "Thou must abhor his labouring to render the Cross odious unto thee."⁴⁷ Shortly after this episode Christian comes upon an actual cross by the roadside, a prominent way-mark, by the mediation of which—i.e., by passing that way—pilgrims lose their sins and enter heaven. Bunyan continues thus in *The heavenly footman*: "Some men . . . when they come at the Cross, then they can go no farther: but back again to their Sins they must go."⁴⁸ Such was the decision of Pliable at the Slough of Despond, and also of Timorous and Mistrust at the sight of the lions before the House Beautiful.⁴⁹ "Others . . . when they see the Cross is approaching, they turn aside to the Left Hand, or to the Right Hand, and so think to get to Heaven another way."⁵⁰ This was the fate not only of Formal and Hypocrisy, who turned aside at the Hill Difficulty,⁵¹ but also of Christian and Hopeful, who left the way at By-path Meadow and nearly suffered disaster.⁵²

As a final word of advice, probably realizing that he has drawn in *The heavenly footman* a somewhat discouraging picture of the heavenly excursion, Bunyan exhorts his reader to invoke divine aid. "Beg of God, that he would do these two things for thee. First, enlighten thine Understanding. And Secondly, inflame thy Will. . . . For when Men do come to see the things of another World; what a God, what a Christ, what a Heaven . . . I tell you, it will make them Run thorow thick and thin to enjoy it."⁵³ This enlightenment and this encouragement, without which Christian's task would have been much more difficult, are provided at Interpreter's House in *Pilgrim's progress*, where he is entertained with marvelous sights:

⁴⁶ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 279-80.

⁴⁹ *Pilgrim's progress*, pp. 158, 172-73.

⁴⁷ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 155.

⁵⁰ *The heavenly footman*, p. 283.

⁴⁸ *The heavenly footman*, p. 283.

⁵¹ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 172.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 233 ff. Concerning the encounter with Giant Despair, and parallels in other seventeenth-century literature, see Golder, "Bunyan's Giant Despair," *JEGP*, XXX, 361-78.

⁵³ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 283-84.

Here have I seen things rare and profitable,
 Things pleasant, dreadful, things to make me stable
 In what I have begun to take in hand:
 Then let me think on them, and understand
 Wherefore they shew'd me were. . . .⁵⁴

The heavenly footman must also remember, says Bunyan, that "Christ hath a bosom, consider therefore when thou hast Run thy self down weary, he will put thee in his bosom. . . . Or else, he will convey new strength from Heaven into thy Soul. . . . Thou shalt have good and easy Lodging, good and wholsom Diet, the Bosom of Christ to lie in, the joys of Heaven to feed on."⁵⁵ In this promise of aid is suggested that which came from above to Christian after his fight with Apollyon—literally "new strength from Heaven."⁵⁶ Then, too, Christian enjoys "good and easy Lodging" at the House Beautiful, a house "built by the Lord of the Hill . . . for the Relief and Security of Pilgrims."⁵⁷ Nevertheless, warns Bunyan, beware of indulging the weaknesses of the body: "it is a sad thing to sit down before we are in Heaven, and to grow weary before we come to the place of rest."⁵⁸ This sin furnishes the basis for another incident in *Pilgrim's progress*,⁵⁹ for Christian falls asleep at the Arbor of Grace, loses his warrant for heaven, and consequently arrives late at the "place of rest," the House Beautiful. Rendered alert, however, by his misfortune, he later prevents Hopeful from offending likewise in the Enchanted Ground.⁶⁰

Along with the sin of loitering, Bunyan refers in *The heavenly footman* to several kinds of would-be travelers, chief among whom are those that run for a time and then faint-heartedly return to sin; they, he affirms, "shall not only be Damned for Sin, but for professing to all the World, that Sin is better than Christ."⁶¹ Equal to these in sin are they "that have all this while sat still, and have not so much as set one

⁵⁴ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 168.

⁵⁵ *The heavenly footman*, pp. 290-91.

⁵⁶ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 188. As early as 1665 Bunyan had spoken of "the leaves of the tree of life" which Christian here applied to his wounds: "By leaves . . . we may understand the blessed and precious promises, consolations, and encouragements . . . which . . . will be most freely handed to the wounded conscience that will be tossed upon the restless waves of doubt and unbelief (*The Holy City*, in *Works*, ed. Offor, III, 456).

⁵⁷ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 175.

⁵⁸ *The heavenly footman*, p. 293.

⁵⁹ *Pilgrim's progress*, pp. 172 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

⁶¹ *The heavenly footman*, p. 293.

foot forward to the Kingdom of Heaven. Surely he that backslideth, and he that sitteth still in Sin, they are both of one mind."⁶² A striking coincidence it is that a Pliable and an Obstinate should thus be associated in both *The heavenly footman* and *Pilgrim's progress*—Pliable, whose fate upon returning home, as told by Faithful, was "seven times worse than if he had never gone out of the City",⁶³ and Obstinate, who would have nothing to do with such "Craz'd-headed Coxcombs"⁶⁴—so striking, in fact, that it may have been a conscious reproduction.

With this final warning to him who the primrose path of dalliance treads, Bunyan concludes his early "pilgrim's progress." Not only in scheme but also in detail it is a significant precursor of the allegory. In other works by Bunyan, written before 1676, one may find numerous figures of speech which seemingly were copied or duplicated later, but they are usually in a context which bears no other resemblance to his masterpiece. To point out scattered metaphors and similes, and thence to attempt proof that a *Pilgrim's progress* was stirring in Bunyan's mind, is to tread upon thin ice. Figures of speech he drew from many sources, from the Bible and from Puritan phraseology especially, and the originality of *Pilgrim's progress* does not consist in them. Only when they were fused into the narrative-dream structure of a pilgrimage may we be certain that they could beget a *Pilgrim's progress*; and, as we have seen, *The heavenly footman* is near to such a fusion. To be sure, the romance features which lend an unusual color to the allegory are not apparent either in the dream of *Grace abounding* or in *The heavenly footman*; the "streamy nature of association" had not yet welded the dry structure of the latter account into the living unity of *Pilgrim's progress*. But the "sleeping images" were ceaselessly moving and combining, and in the writing of *The heavenly footman* their synthesis was a direct foreshadowing of Christian's journey.

Even though none of the twenty-two books which Bunyan published before *Pilgrim's progress* resembles the latter except in a few figures of speech—*The heavenly footman*, of course, was unpublished—one of them, which should be mentioned, develops fully two ideas, the strait gate and the unworthy pilgrims, which are found in the later

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶³ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 194.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

writing. This book, *The strait gate*, was published in 1676, and was followed shortly after by *Pilgrim's progress*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1677.⁶⁵

"I read in the scriptures of two gates or doors," Bunyan observes in *The strait gate*, "through which they that go to heaven must enter."⁶⁶ These doors are: first, Christ, and, second, the doors to the heavenly city itself.⁶⁷ The first gate, moreover, is "called his house, and himself the Master of it."⁶⁸ These ideas, of course, are utilized in *Pilgrim's progress*, and were also partly anticipated in the dream quoted from *Grace abounding*.

Not only are there gates to heaven, but "God hath porters at the gates . . . placed there . . . to look that none that are unclean . . . may come in";⁶⁹ and these porters are armed. Here, then, we have the antecedents of Good-will and the porter at the House Beautiful—who, it happens, are not armed. Among the "unclean" who will be refused admittance are they that "think to enter . . . by the righteousness of the law." This, we may remember, is Christian's error later, when he allows Mr. Worldly Wiseman to draw him from the path; and he is sorely affrighted when, after his rescue by Evangelist, a voice speaks from the mountain: "As many as are of the works of the Law, are under the curse."⁷⁰ Nor shall any enter these gates, proceeds Bunyan, except by "the conduct of the holy angels."⁷¹ I have already pointed out that Christian is escorted into the heavenly city by such a troop.⁷²

With these remarks Bunyan leaves the subject of the gates, and adverts to the discomforts and hazards confronting professors. "The world will seek to keep thee out of heaven," he remarks, in words similar to those used in *The heavenly footman*,⁷³ "with mocks, flouts,

⁶⁵ Brown, *John Bunyan, his life, etc.*, pp. 262, 264.

⁶⁶ *The strait gate*, in *Works*, ed. Offor, I, 365.

⁶⁷ In *The Holy City* (*Works*, ed. Offor, III, 412) Bunyan had explained that these gates signify, "First, An entrance into communion with the God and Saviour of this city. Secondly, Entrance into communion with the inhabitants and privileges of the city, in both which the gates do signify Christ."

⁶⁸ *The strait gate*, p. 366.

⁷⁰ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 156.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁷¹ *The strait gate*, p. 368.

⁷² Also in *The Holy City* Bunyan had prefigured the river before the city, across which Christian and Hopeful pass, as being in depth "above the head, a river to swim in, and that such a river as can by no means be passed over. This signifieth our launching into eternity" (*Works*, ed. Offor, III, 452).

⁷³ Bunyan declares in *The heavenly footman* (p. 288) that the desire for heaven had made many "endure to be Stoned, Sawed asunder, to have their Eyes bored out with Augers, their Bodies broiled on Gridirons, their Tongues cut out of their mouths, boiled in Cauldrons, thrown to the wild Beasts, burned at the Stakes . . . and a thousand other fearful Torments."

taunts, threatenings, jails, gibbets, halters, burnings, and a thousand deaths. . . . We again, on the other side, have labored by prayers and tears, . . . by gentleness and love, by sound doctrine . . . to bring them over to us."⁷⁴ Such is the fate visited upon Christian and Faithful in *Vanity Fair*, another City of Destruction where worldliness prevails: Faithful is scourged and buffeted, pricked with knives, stoned, and finally burnt at the stake. Their conduct preceding this sad event, nevertheless, is quite as exemplary as that of all good martyrs, even as much so as Bunyan advises in *The strait gate*.

Aside from the details mentioned, this book is devoted to an arraignment of sinners who Bunyan feels will be damned. These characters, with a name-tag and the stuff of life in them, can all be found in *Pilgrim's progress*. First comes the predecessor of Talkative, "whose religion stands chiefly, if not only, in a few unprofitable questions and vain wranglings."⁷⁵ Next is the prototype of Ignorance: "He is for the picking and choosing of truth, and loveth not to hazard his all for that worthy name by which he would be called";⁷⁶ his kind, says Bunyan, "will make a stop at this . . . gate of heaven. . . . They will not only make a stop . . . but there will they knock and call."⁷⁷ This is exactly the fate of poor Ignorance in *Pilgrim's progress*, but the gate opens not unto him.⁷⁸ The Pliables of the world are also present in *The strait gate*; those who are "for their souls by fits and starts";⁷⁹ who "for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away."⁸⁰ Then there is By-ends—By-ends and his companions, Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Save-all, and Mr. Money-love—all of whom, since they find that religion "is the way to credit, repute, preferment, and the like,"⁸¹ profess belief only as "a holiday suit to set them out at certain times, and when they come among suitable company." Next comes Obstinate, one of those who "go on in the broad way of sin and profaneness, bear-

⁷⁴ *The strait gate*, p. 370.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁷⁸ John W. Draper ("Bunyan's Mr. Ignorance," *MLR*, XXII [1927], 15-21) identifies Ignorance with the seventeenth-century disciples of Natural Religion, and suggests that in him Bunyan "is expressing the evolution of bourgeois thought . . . from Calvinism to Deism and Sentimentalism." Though there are traces of deistic and sentimental thought in Mr. Ignorance's creed, which may possibly indicate a step in the evolution Mr. Draper mentions, we must not forget that Bunyan was merely describing a type of Christian whom he had known—not consciously exemplifying a philosophical trend.

⁷⁹ *The strait gate*, p. 370.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

ing the 'tokens' of their damnation in their foreheads,"⁸² Mr. Legality, who "hath chosen to stand and fall by Moses,"⁸³ and Mr. Worldly Wiseman, "whose religion lieth in some circumstantial of religion," having "lost all but the shell of religion." Then, last of those whom I shall name, is what Bunyan calls a "convinced sinner." As far as such a description goes, one might say that all the characters in *Pilgrim's progress* who are not saints are convinced sinners. But the figure which Bunyan uses to illustrate the condition of these persons is the most unusual of any in the book—in fact, is the only distinct parallelism between it and *Pilgrim's progress*, for the list of sinners in *The strait gate* is far from unique, as is also the gate itself. "Such poor sinners," Bunyan declares, "are much like to the wanton boy that stands at the maid's elbow, to blow out her candle as fast as she lights it by the fire. Convinced sinner, God lighteth thy candle, and thou putteth it out; God lights it again, and thou putteth it out."⁸⁴ In *Saved by grace*, which immediately preceded *The strait gate* in the chronology of Bunyan's writings, the same general image had been suggested: "I am persuaded," he therein remarks, "that God hath visited some of you often with his Word, even twice and thrice, and you have thrown water as fast as he hath by the Word cast fire upon your conscience."⁸⁵ By 1677, approximately three years after his initial use of the figure, the great dreamer's image-making faculty had completely allegorized it, and it appears in Interpreter's House fully developed. There Christian sees "a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it, alwayes casting much Water upon it to quench it; Yet did the Fire burn higher and hotter. Then said Christian, What means this? The Interpreter answered, This Fire is the Work of Grace that is wrought in the Heart; he that casts Water upon it . . . is the Devil." He then takes Christian behind the wall, where the pilgrim sees one secretly casting oil upon the fire. "This is Christ, who continually with the Oyl of his Grace, maintains the Work already begun in the Heart."⁸⁶ In the evolution of this episode from the bare words of *Saved by grace*, through the homely figure of *The strait gate*, to the completely realized allegory of Interpreter's House, we have an example of the manner in which Bunyan's imagination vitalized the

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 372.⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 387.⁸⁴ *Pilgrim's progress*, p. 163.⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-89.⁸⁶ *Works*, ed. Offor, I, 351.

connotation of words into vivid drama. And, as I have said, it links *The strait gate* directly to *Pilgrim's progress*.

Though the characters listed in *The strait gate* do not bear the type-names which we find in *Pilgrim's progress*, they do, in a sense, form a complement to the features already discussed in that book and in *The heavenly footman*, completing, as it were, the structural elements requisite for the story of Christian. In *The heavenly footman* the journey, with most of its hazards, is plotted; in *The strait gate* are further details of the journey, a reiteration of the warning to pilgrims, and a catalogue of the persons to be met with on the way. It would be precipitant to conclude that Bunyan had been mulling over for some time the writing of *Pilgrim's progress*, and there is no reason to doubt the veracity of his own statement about the matter; but, at the same time, his mind was ripe for the project. Given *The heavenly footman* alone, objectified and clothed with the trappings of a Galahad or a Bevis of Hamptoun, and the result is very nearly a "pilgrim's progress" as, we may suppose, Bunyan first conceived it. The history of that moment he himself has told:

When at the first I took my Pen in hand
Thus for to write; I did not understand
That I at all should make a little Book
In such a Mode: Nay, I had undertook
To make another; which, when almost done,
Before I was aware, I this begun;
And thus it was: I writing of the way
And race of Saints in this our Gospel day,
Fell suddenly into an Allegory
About their Journey, and the Way to Glory.⁸⁷

Thus *Pilgrim's progress* grew from, or was suggested by, another book, one concerned with "the way and race of saints." Were it not for the references in *The heavenly footman* which unmistakably assign that work to an earlier period, internal evidence would mark it as the one from which *Pilgrim's progress* directly proceeded.⁸⁸ But though in

⁸⁷ "The authors apology for his book," *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁸⁸ J. Newton Brown says of *The heavenly footman*: "As to the time and place of its composition, it is so clearly connected with that of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, that by whatever evidence the one is fixed to his imprisonment in Bedford Jail, the other is fixed there also" (*Practical works of John Bunyan* [Philadelphia, 1852], V, iv). The confidence of this statement is unwarranted; he does not attempt to substantiate the opinion, nor do I think it could be substantiated.

every detail it fills the description of a book dealing with "the way and race of saints," such a theory is untenable. Bunyan might easily have been referring to *The strait gate*, and external evidence favors such a conclusion.⁸⁹

At any rate, long before *Pilgrim's progress* was written it was germinating in Bunyan's mind. For several reasons it was destined to be his finest production. In it he was dealing with a subject peculiarly fitted to his view of life—a subject, moreover, with which he was thoroughly familiar. From the dream of *Grace abounding* to the journey of *The heavenly footman* to *Pilgrim's progress* occur obvious gaps, but in the two former works the later story was implicit, needing only "the streamy nature of association" to knit those paradoxical elements—chivalric romance and Calvinism—into a living whole.

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⁸⁹ Of the supposition that *The strait gate* supplied the "germ of the Allegory," Brown (*ibid.*, pp. iii–iv) observes: "As to any internal evidence to that effect, were it far more plausible than it is, it would fail to establish the point against the decisive claims of *The heavenly footman*." Internal evidence, however, as I have shown, also indicates clearly that *The heavenly footman* was written considerably before *Pilgrim's progress*.

John Brown (*John Bunyan, his life, etc.*, p. 262) remarks: "No other work published during his long imprisonment, or for years after, at all meets the requirements of the case. But this book [*The strait gate*] does. It is concerned with 'the Way and Race of Saints.' It was preceded in 1675 by the work entitled 'Instruction for the Ignorant,' which was evidently a prison book. It came out in 1676, and it was followed by the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' which was entered at Stationer's Hall in 1677."

Harold Golder says ("Bunyan's Valley of the shadow," *MP*, XXVIII, 71) that the book Bunyan was writing preceding *Pilgrim's progress* was "probably the *Strait Gate* . . . in which abound the metaphors that became the concrete details of *Pilgrim's Progress*."

PRIOR'S *POEMS*, 1718: A DUPLICATE PRINTING

EARLY in 1717 Prior's financial affairs were in such shape that his friends were much concerned for him. Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Erasmus Lewis proposed to relieve his financial straits by the same expedient that had been (and was to be) so profitable to Pope—promotion of a subscription edition. This proposal was approved; but the dignity of his erstwhile position, together with his natural vanity, prompted Prior to impose two restrictions. In the first place, no formal advertising of the subscription should appear: no printed advertisement should be circulated, either in the form of handbills (such as the "Proposals" issued by Pope and commonly employed during the period by others) or as announcements in the newspapers. Instead, requests for subscriptions should be "managed by friends in such a manner as" should be "least shocking to the dignity of a plenipotentiary." In the second place, Prior insisted that the edition should be expensive enough to elevate it above the common run of such affairs, and that it should be not only the most beautiful volume ever published but also the most correct.¹

These restrictions Prior's friends accepted with some enthusiasm. The terms of the subscription were set fairly high: one guinea at the time of subscribing and a second guinea on delivery of the book. Immediately and zealously Prior's friends sought subscribers. Not content with the resources of England, Lewis (holding the pen for Arbuthnot, Prior, Pope, and Gay) solicited Swift's aid in Ireland.²

Controversy over the particular beauty which the volume should assume was settled only when Tonson (who had been chosen as publisher) convinced Prior, Lord Harley, Wanley, and Morley that their plan to print the book on vellum was, as Prior phrased it, "impracticable, improbable, impossible." Second best was, then, "paper imperial, and the largest in England," with a frontispiece "as big as has

¹ Erasmus Lewis to Swift, January 12, 1717, *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Eirington Ball, II (London, 1911), 360.

² *Ibid.* See also Swift's letter to Archdeacon Wells, March 30, 1717, Ball, II, 381.

been formed since the days of Alexander the Coppersmith."³ By way of additional adornment, vignettes were specially designed by Louis Chéron and engraved on copper by Baron and Beauvais;⁴ and Prior himself contrived "emblems, such as cupids, torches, and harts for great letters,"⁵ which the coppersmiths duly executed.

Sumptuousness thus taken care of, correctness remained. Upon the proofreading—and it was in proof that Prior made almost all his changes⁶—Prior and his "two colon and comma men," as he called Wanley and Bedford,⁷ expended a great deal of time and care. Beginning about April 5, 1718, and not concluding until the middle of January, 1719, they labored conscientiously, if leisurely, to make the volume as accurate as possible. Nothing can show their care as well as the correspondence.

The first mention of the proof is in Prior's letter to Wanley on April 5, 1718:

I torment you before my appointed time finding this sheet at home: as soon as you have looked it over it may be carried immediately to the Printer: I will trouble you to-morrow morning for the sheet which you have: it is Compliment in the most refined French Dictionaries, but I submit it to you as I ought with great reason to do everything concerning Literature.⁸

This regard for spelling, very unusual in Prior's day (except by a few people like Swift), is characteristic of the proofreading. That equal pains were taken with capitalization the next letter, again from Prior to Wanley, testifies:

³ Prior to Harley, December 11, 1717, Hist. MSS Comm., *Calendar of the MSS of the Marquis of Bath* . . . III (Hereford, 1908), 450. The arrangements for publication were not completed until this time partly, at least, because of a desire to discover approximately what number of copies would be required.

⁴ Ball, III, 4 n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶ The copy sent the printer was partly manuscript (for the new pieces) but chiefly pages cut out of previous editions and arranged in a new order. Prior seems to have made a few changes in this copy, but the correspondence shows clearly that most of his alterations were made in proof. See particularly the letter from Prior to Wanley, April 5, 1718, quoted in L. G. Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior: a study of his public career and correspondence* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 260; that to Swift, May 29, 1718, Ball, III, 8; those from the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Bathurst, September [?], 1718, Hist. MSS Comm., p. 458; as well as the letters quoted hereafter.

⁷ Ball, III, 8. Morley and Drift also helped.

⁸ Legg, p. 260. Legg adds the note, "He had been in the habit of spelling it Complement, as may be seen from his despatches." The sheet in question probably belongs to the dedicatory section, where "Compliment" appears twice on the first page, spelled with the *i* dictated by the "most refined French Dictionaries."

I send you these sheets as looked over first by Mr. Bedford and then by myself. I have made great letters at *Ye, Me* and emphatical words, that this may answer to the tenor of the other poems: But if in the old it be otherwise printed, or you please to alter any thing, you know, and may use your dictatorial power. In a book called *The Custume* [?] of London, a folio printed, I think, in Harry the Eighth's time, which I gave our well-beloved Lord Harley, you will find this poem.⁹

In fact, proof was read with sufficient care to please a modern editor. On May 1, Prior wrote Swift: "A pretty kind of amusement I have been engaged in: commas, semicolons, italic, and capital, to make nonsense more pompous, and furbelow bad poetry with good printing. . . ." On May 12 he repeated himself to Lord Harley: "Every morning and night I am plagued with commas, semicolons, italic and capital, to which I have given such laborious despatch and punctual order as to be ready to come *quo me fata vocant*."¹⁰

There was more laboriousness than "despatch." On May 29 he again wrote Swift concerning the work, telling him that he and his two "colon and comma men" designed "to publish, as fast as the nature of this great or sorry work" would bear; but that they did not expect to complete the task before Christmas.¹² And on June 2 he wrote Harley that he "would stay amongst" his "commas and colons" until the last minute before joining him on his "western expedition."¹³ Two days later he wrote hastily, "I am pretty well *dégagé* as to my commas and colons, at least I shall be before the time I mention of waiting on you [i.e., two or three days later]."¹⁴

The spring of 1718 was, therefore, filled with the work. During the summer months Prior and his assistants must have continued to read proof, although no letters concerning the task have been printed. On September 25 he wrote Swift as if the volume were complete: "I have now made an end of what you, in your haughty manner, have

⁹ *Ibid.* The letter is dated Thursday noon, April 11, 1718, and refers, no doubt, to the "Nut-brown maid" which Prior reprinted. The folio printed in "Harry the Eighth's time" is either No. 782 or No. 783 in the *Short title catalogue*, two editions of Richard Arnold's *Chronicle*. Wanley evidently did not check either the spelling or the punctuation against the original text (as a matter of fact, some bad blunders are preserved from earlier Prior editions); but many changes in capitalization were effected.

¹⁰ Ball, III, 4.

¹¹ Hist. MSS Comm., p. 454.

¹² Ball, III, 8. Oxford, it appears, was also criticizing the poems, but on somewhat higher grounds than punctuation and the like.

¹³ Hist. MSS Comm., p. 454.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

called wretched work. My book is quite printed off; and if you are as much upon the *bagatelle* as you pretend to be, you will find more pleasure in it than you imagine."¹⁵ But this letter, if it is dated correctly, was actually anticipatory, for he wrote Harley on September 29 that "*Solomon* [*On the Vanity of the World*] is almost perfected: Wanley is very good to me in his corrections, but mighty angry with the printer about filthy hooks, meagre letters and unequal lines."¹⁶ Again too optimistic, Prior told Harley on October 6 that the work was finished,¹⁷ but on October 11 he said he was "at the last sheet of *Solomon*."¹⁸ Presumably the task of proofreading was actually completed soon after this last date, although there yet remained the work of printing the names of the subscribers. Proof for this extensive list was read in January of 1719, Prior again asking assistance from Wanley.¹⁹

The volume was finally ready for the subscribers on March 17, 1719;²⁰ but the memory of the uncongenial labor expended upon the meticulous correction of the proof lingered in Prior's mind, as his letter to Harley six weeks later shows: "I shall tell you all Friday night, till which time and for ever I am intirely or entirely—let Wanley decide— . . . yours."²¹

The volume of poetry thus so carefully ushered into the world was in reality a handsome book. The work of Prior and his assistants, extending practically over an entire year, is believed to have produced the most correct and one of the most beautiful books published in England up to that time. Its spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics—all those details in which eighteenth-century printing exhibits so many peculiarities and inconsistencies—should, because of this care, reflect the best taste of the age; that it does has been generally believed. Prior's most capable editor, A. R. Waller, observed that the folio "is excellently printed, the errors of the press are remarkably few, and there is no doubt that it presents the final form of those

¹⁵ Ball, III, 14. Perhaps Prior meant that the whole volume had been set in type, not that he had finished the proofreading.

¹⁶ Hist. MSS Comm., p. 459.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* These letters, it is true, may be misdated.

¹⁹ Legg, p. 261.

²⁰ G. A. Aitken, "Notes on the bibliography of Matthew Prior, *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIV (1915-17), 58.

²¹ Hist. MSS Comm., p. 464.

poems which at the date of its publication Prior wished to preserve."²² The edition has, consequently, served as the basis for all subsequent editions of Prior's work that have any claim to accuracy.²³

A few years ago, therefore, when I was preparing copy for selections from Prior's poetry to appear in R. S. Crane's *Collection of English poems, 1660-1800*,²⁴ there seemed to be no question about the text to employ. Since, however, the library copy of the *Poems*, 1718, of the largest paper, was extremely bulky, I typed the copy from Waller's edition in the "Cambridge classics." When the proof came from the printer, I read it, however, against the 1718 edition itself—not against Waller's reprint. I had not read a dozen lines before I knew that something was radically wrong; there was a variant in almost every line.²⁵ Immediately I sought Waller's edition, only to find that the proof agreed in every particular with his text. Could Waller have been responsible for so many errors? Or could he have printed his text from some edition other than that which he specified?

In an endeavor to answer these questions, I finished reading the proof for the Prior selections against the 1718 folio, and discovered that some of it agreed not at all, but that the rest agreed perfectly. And in every case the proof was identical with Waller's text. This discovery that parts of Waller's text exhibited perfect concord with the folio and that other parts presented numerous differences suggested that the text of the various folios differed, and that, perhaps, a medium folio (such as Waller used) would agree better with his reprint than did the large size I was using. Fortunately, I was able to secure two medium folios, but they agreed neither with Waller nor with each other. Four more folios, two large and two small, presented the same lack of agreement; in fact, no two agreed with each other. In the case of each poem, however, I was able to locate a text that agreed perfectly with the text in Waller (sometimes in a large, some-

²² *Poems on several occasions* (Cambridge, 1905), p. viii.

²³ It is, of course, known that the folio was issued in three sizes: large, medium, and small. Waller chose a medium copy as the basis of his text, believing, as have other editors, that the text was identical in all three. The general excellence of the printing is attested by the remarkably small number of typographical errors Waller corrects.

²⁴ New York, 1932.

²⁵ The first poem reprinted in Mr. Crane's anthology is the ode "I am that I am." In the first ten lines (the first stanza) there were nine variant readings—in this case, all differences in capitalization and spelling.

times in a medium, sometimes in a small folio); in each case, furthermore, there was one, but no more than one, differing text.²⁶

The differences between the two texts were numerous at times, and few at others;²⁷ they were chiefly variations in punctuation, capitalization, and spelling,²⁸ though a few more serious differences occur.²⁹ All these, undoubtedly, were the changes—the details (“commas, semicolons, italic and capital”) to which Prior and his aids gave such “laborious despatch and punctual order.”

The presence of only the two texts in the seven folios indicated clearly that one of two things happened: either that the printer made Prior's corrections in the *formes* during the process of printing the sheets or that the book was set in duplicate, one setting being run off without Prior's final corrections, the other incorporating them.

The first of these alternatives is common enough in eighteenth-century printing.³⁰ Such a procedure is evidenced by the presence of the same font or fonts of type with the same alignment in those pages or parts of pages in which the text remained unaltered. Careful examination, however, shows that Prior's *Poems* of 1718 was not thus printed. Page 200, for instance, is in all copies textually the same, though different fonts, particularly of capital *M*'s and *W*'s, and different alignment indicate quite clearly that there were two settings of type; indeed, my examination has failed to reveal a single page, not excepting the title-page or the list of subscribers, which was not set up twice whether there were textual changes or not.

The evidence, consequently, is in favor of the second alternative—that of duplicate setting.³¹ One of these settings was corrected in proof,

²⁶ I have not collated every page—there are upward of 500—but I have done enough (the first 128 pages and generous samples thereafter) to justify my conclusion.

²⁷ Signature a, e.g., presents thirty-three variant readings; signature A, twenty-four; signature O, seventeen; signature Y, eleven.

²⁸ Of the thirty-three variant readings in signature a, nine are differences in punctuation and twenty-one are changes in capitalization. Two words are spelled differently (*enterprise—enterprize; reflections—reflexions*). The remaining change is textual.

²⁹ See, e.g., p. 50, “In imitation of Anacreon.” One text (that reprinted by Waller) reads: “Bid the warbling Nine retire”; but the other text reads: “Bid the warbling Nymph retire.”

³⁰ One has merely to glance through R. H. Griffith's *Bibliography of Pope* to recognize that this practice of revising texts during printing was far from rare.

³¹ Probably the reason for a duplicate setting was an agreement between the master-printers and their workmen—an agreement whereby no more than 1,500 copies (except in the case of the Bible and other such books) were to be printed from the same setting of

as the correspondence clearly indicates, to conform to Prior's changes, the other was not; sheets were printed from both; and, during or after the drying process, the sheets were not kept separate, with the inevitable result that they were so hopelessly mixed in gathering that the bound copies varied from each other in confusing fashion.³²

Thus, theoretically, a poem occupying more than one signature might in one copy be partly from the unrevised setting, partly from the revised; in another, entirely from the revised setting; in yet another, entirely from that unrevised.³³ And actually such confusion exists: two of the seven folios I have examined present the revised text of "Hans Carvel" (sigs. Ee and Ff); one presents the unrevised text; and four present a mixture (three having signature Ee in the revised state and Ff unrevised, and one having signature Ff in the revised state with Ee unrevised).

Waller's reprint, therefore, in relying on one copy alone, naturally reproduces the variations of that particular copy, and, theoretically at least, may be "correct" in no more than 50 per cent of its readings.³⁴

The rather obvious point, as far as the text of Prior is concerned, is that there is, consequently, no modern edition of Prior's poems which

type, so that the work might be more or less evenly divided between typesetters and pressmen. I have not been able to discover whether such an agreement was in force in 1718 or not, but it was quite an old one (see Arber, *Transcript*, II, 13, 883; V, lili). Prior's subscriptions totaled two thousand, and no doubt Tonson printed more copies for his own profit (I have seen two copies without the list of subscribers).

³² It is, of course, probable that some copies are identical; but of the seven I have examined no two are alike.

³³ The method of determining which is the revised, which the unrevised, setting is relatively easy for those poems previously printed. It is first necessary to distinguish the edition or editions Prior used as copy for the printer. The "unrevised" setting will be found, I am confident, to be a fairly faithful reproduction of this text; and the setting exhibiting the largest number of variations from this copy will be that which represents the final corrections Prior and his assistants saw fit to make. I have not been able to discover what edition or editions Prior used as copy (having nothing available except the 1709 octavo and the 1717 duodecimo); but, since one of the texts (at least in certain instances) agrees remarkably well with both the 1709 and 1717 editions, it seems relatively clear that the agreement brands it as "unrevised." One line will serve to illustrate:

- 1709: Scarce know'st thou how thy self began,
- 1717: Scarce know'st thou how thy self began;
- 1718a: Scarce know'st thou how thy self began:
- 1718b: Scarce know'st Thou how thy self began:

The difference in capitalization and punctuation in this line in the 1718b text is quite probably the result of Prior's "submission and care." Certain catchwords (pp. 4, 95, 96, 128, 196) might prove useful in identifying the edition Prior submitted to the printer.

³⁴ Of the very few corrections which Waller felt called upon to make ("the few misprints"—p. viii), all except one were corrected by Prior himself (see Waller, p. xxv, l. 10; p. 2, l. 16; p. 55, l. 21; p. 69, l. 7; p. 76, l. 21).

reads as he would have it read. Another point—one of greater importance—is the supposition that, if such a procedure took place here, it probably took place elsewhere. Mr. McKerrow's remark that the practice of setting books in duplicate was "a matter that is fortunately of theoretical rather than of practical interest to the majority of those who edit our literature"³⁵ is undoubtedly just as a generalization, but the discovery of a duplicate printing of a book so carefully edited suggests that future editors of eighteenth-century texts should take the obvious precaution of comparing a number of copies.

One wonders whether Prior himself was aware of what happened.

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³⁵ *Introduction to bibliography* (Oxford, 1927), p. 214.

SHELLEY'S LEONORA

THE history of the lost *Leonora*, written by Hogg and Shelley at Oxford, has been wrapped in obscurity, except for the slight but valuable statement of Henry Slatter. But the evidence for a more complete history is in our hands, and it is my purpose to present this. The resulting narrative will show that *Leonora* is more interesting biographically than has been thought.¹

¹ The early history of *Leonora* has been confused because Stockdale and Hogg deliberately misled their readers. When Stockdale prepared his articles on Shelley for his *Budget* in 1826-27, among his materials were letters relating to *Leonora* from Shelley, Hogg, and Sir Timothy. These he could not afford not to use; at the same time he could not afford to exhibit himself as a traitor to Shelley and Hogg. He therefore led his readers to think that these letters relate to *The necessity of atheism*, with which they have no connection at all.

It is impossible to make out the history of *Leonora* from any edition of Shelley's letters except the Julian Edition, for in all earlier editions the letters (Shelley's) concerning *Leonora* were printed from Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, where they were altered by Hogg in order to conceal his connection with the novel. E.g., in Shelley's letter of December 20, 1810. Instead of "I would recommend to offer it to Wilkie & Robinson . . . and to take it there yourself. . . . If that will not do, I would recommend you to print it yourself," Hogg prints, "I am disposed to offer it to Wilkie & Robinson . . . and to take it there myself. . . . If that will not do, I must print it myself."

Why did Hogg wish to conceal his authorship of *Leonora* (he never allows the title, *Leonora*, to appear)? Throughout his *Life of Shelley*, Hogg assumes a certain air of superiority, an air of amused interest in Shelley's poetizing, philosophizing, and romancing. Is it not therefore likely that Hogg did not wish his readers to know that he also had had his share in such nonsense? To reveal himself as composing radical and extravagant romances would be to surrender his position as an amused observer. Hogg's unreliable tale about the *Margaret Nicholson* volume supports this suggestion, and points to an additional suspicion: that Hogg had more to do with the writing of *The necessity of atheism* than we have thought.

Of the ten Shelley letters quoted in this paper, only two (January 3, 1811; July 9, 1813) are derived from Hogg's text, and neither of these affects the history of *Leonora*. Six of the letters (December 20, 1810; January 2, 17, April 26, June 2, August 15, 1811) are derived from Hogg's text as corrected by Lady Shelley by comparison with the original letters. (These corrected texts were first printed by M. A. Koszul in his *La jeunesse de Shelley* [1910], and were next printed by Ingpen in an Appendix to his 1914 edition of Shelley's *Letters*; in the Julian Edition of Shelley's *Works*, Vol. VIII, only the corrected texts are given.) The text of the January 14, 1811, letter is derived from the MS itself (see S. de Ricci, *Bibliography of Shelley's letters*, p. 122). The text of the January 28, 1811, letter to Stockdale is doubtless authentic; at any rate it was not taken from Hogg's *Life*, for the letter does not appear in that work. Of the ten letters quoted, then, eight are from reliable sources, and the other two, though from Hogg's text, are nonessential.

The history of *Leonora* has been further obscured by its having been consistently confused with an unnamed novel which Shelley was writing without assistance during December and January and which he mentions in the letter of December 20, 1810, along with *Leonora*. But *Leonora* and this novel are quite distinct. The novel referred to in his letter of December 18 is not *Leonora*; nor is "the novel which I have in preparation for the press" of his December 20 letter. The "tale" which he mentions in his letter of May 15, 1811, may be yet another novel, though in all probability it is the same one he was at work on during January; certainly it is not *Leonora*.

To begin with, it should be clearly understood that *Leonora* was almost entirely written by Hogg, and that Shelley always refers to it as Hogg's. How Shelley came to be credited with a large share in it will be explained presently. It should also be understood that *Leonora* contained many daring ideas altogether unacceptable to the orthodox, and that Shelley and Hogg were quite aware of this.

Leonora was apparently completed when Shelley returned from Oxford to Field Place for the Christmas holidays about the middle of December, 1810. On December 20 he wrote to Hogg (who spent most of the vacation at Oxford), offering advice concerning a publisher for Hogg's *Leonora*.²

I am at a loss whom [i.e., what publisher] to recommend. S[tockdale]'s skull is very thick, but I am afraid that he will not believe your assertion [that the publication of *Leonora* would not be dangerous]; indeed, should it gain credit with him, should he accept the offer of publication, there exist numbers who will find out its real tendency; and booksellers possess more power than we are aware of in impeding the sale of any book whose opinions are displeasing to them. I would recommend to offer it to Wilkie and Robinson, Pater-noster Row, and to take it there yourself; he publishes Godwin's works, it is scarcely possible to suppose that any one but [a] clergyman will assert that these support the doctrine of the Gospel. If that will not do, I would recommend you to print it yourself. Oxford, of course, would be most convenient for the correction of the press.

On January 2, 1811, he wrote again:

I hope you will publish *Leonora*; I shall then give a copy to Elizabeth, unless *you* forbid it. I would do it not only to tell her what your ideas are on the subject of religion, and to interest her, but that she should see you in a new point of view.³

This was followed the next day (January 3) by yet another letter:

Pray publish your tale; demand one hundred pounds for it from any publisher;—he will give it in the event. It is delightful, it is divine—not that I like your heroine—but the poor Mary is a character worthy of Heaven. I adore her.⁴

Hogg did not follow Shelley's advice, but offered his manuscript to Stockdale. The consequences were very unpleasant.

² Julian Edition, letter No. 18; text of the letter as corrected by Lady Shelley. In this letter *Leonora* is not mentioned by title, but the letters which follow identify the novel beyond all doubt.

³ Julian Edition, letter No. 22; text as corrected by Lady Shelley.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 23; text from Hogg's *Life*.

Stockdale had long been alarmed by Shelley's radical tendencies, and had expressed his anxiety by letter to Sir Timothy Shelley, who in consequence called on him about the middle of December. Sir Timothy wrote Shelley (then at home), and Shelley immediately communicated the fact to Hogg on December 20. He said:

My father called on S[tockdale] in London, who has converted him to Christianity. He mentioned my name, as a supporter of deistical principles. My father wrote me, and I am now surrounded, environed by dangers, to which compared the devils, who besieged St. Anthony, all were inefficient. They attack me for my detestable principles; I am reckoned an outcast; Yet I defy them, and laugh at their ineffectual efforts.⁵

When Hogg placed his manuscript in the hands of Stockdale, that sagacious publisher immediately perceived its radical tendency. He must have thought to himself: "At last I have discovered the source of Shelley's dangerous ideas; Mr. Hogg, his inseparable companion, has led him astray. Here in my hand I hold the evidence. This news must be communicated to Sir Timothy at once. He will be greatly pleased with me, and in return will probably pay the moneys which his son owes me."⁶ And straightway Stockdale dispatched a letter to Sir Timothy at Field Place.⁷

Sir Timothy placed Stockdale's letter in Shelley's hands, and Shelley rushed off to write Hogg (January 14, 1811):

Stockdale has behaved infamously to you; he has abused the confidence you reposed in him in sending it [*Leonora*] and has made very free with your character with my father. I shall call on S[tockdale] on my way [back to Oxford] and explain.⁸ May I expect to see *Leonora* printed?⁹ [That is, after Stockdale's refusal, have you found a publisher?]

Before Hogg could reply, Shelley wrote again (January 17):

You tell me nothing about *Leonora*. I hope she gets on in the press, I am anxious for her appearance. Stockdale certainly behaved in a vile manner to you, no other bookseller would have violated the confidence reposed in him. I will talk to him in London, where I shall be on Tuesday.¹⁰

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 18; text corrected by Lady Shelley.

⁶ On December 23, 1810, Sir Timothy had written a very encouraging letter to Stockdale. It is printed in Stockdale's *Budget*, No. 3 (December 27, 1826), p. 19.

⁷ Stockdale's tale about his investigation of Hogg's character through Mrs. Stockdale, who had been reared near Lymmington Dayrell, where Hogg often visited, is probably fiction. It is a device for helping him to cover up his betrayal of Hogg.

⁸ Shelley did not call on Stockdale on his return trip to Oxford.

⁹ Julian Edition, letter No. 28; text from original MS letter.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter No. 30; text corrected by Lady Shelley.

Hogg was aroused. Sitting in his rooms at University College on January 21, he proceeded to call Stockdale to account.

SIR,

I have just heard from a friend to my great surprise that you have made very free with my character to Mr. Shelley. I feel it my duty as a gentleman closely to investigate this extraordinary conduct. I ask what there was in my behaviour to you contrary to the strictest politeness, what there was to justify such an infamous proceeding?

. . . . I demand a full, a perfect apology from yourself. I desire that you s^d immediately write in order to contradict whatever you may have told Mr. Shelley or any one else. . . .

The bare mention of the MS.¹¹ with which I entrusted you to any one was an unparalleled [*sic*] breach of confidence.—There have been instances of booksellers who have honourably refused to betray the authors whose works they have published altho actions were brought against them. . . .

. . . . An immediate answer to this letter is desired.¹²

Stockdale's reply was not satisfactory; he said that Hogg's language was not "decent" and that his "conduct was not that of a gentleman." Hogg therefore wrote him again on the 23d: "I have just received from you a very evasive letter which I assure you is very far from being satisfactory. When you have recovered from your astonishment [Stockdale had affected astonishment] I must request that you will be a little more explicit."¹³ Stockdale's reply to this letter was equally unsatisfactory; this time he made an "insulting attempt at coolness."¹⁴

Upon his return to Oxford, Shelley conferred with Hogg, and at once (January 28) sent off to Stockdale a letter¹⁵ which must have brought hot blood to the bookseller's face. Shelley concludes: "I will never be satisfied, despicable as I may consider the author of that affront, until my friend has ample apology for the injury which you have attempted to do him. I expect an immediate, and demand a

¹¹ Ingpen's note: "The MS. referred to here was suggested by Mr. MacCarthy to be that of Shelley's 'Necessity of Atheism'" (*Letters of Shelley* [1914], I, 47). This mistake shows how little the history of *Leonora* was understood.

¹² Hogg's letters are printed in Stockdale's *Budget*, No. 5 (January 10, 1827), p. 34.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ So Shelley described it in his letter of January 28 to Stockdale.

¹⁵ Julian Edition, letter No. 32.

satisfactory letter." Whether or not a "satisfactory letter" ever came, we do not know; probably not.¹⁶

Shelley then took it upon himself to get *Leonora* printed. Quite naturally he turned to Munday and Slatter of Oxford, who had received personal instructions from Sir Timothy to humor his son in his "printing freaks" and had already issued the *Posthumous fragments of Margaret Nicholson*. It is quite clear from Slatter's account that Shelley led them to think that the novel was his; and Slatter never did quite understand that Shelley's share in it was negligible.

The subsequent history of *Leonora* is well known from Slatter's account of it.¹⁷ His printers refused to proceed with it after they discovered its radical tendency; Shelley placed it in the hands of Mr. King, an Abingdon printer, who had nearly completed it when he was stopped by Shelley's expulsion from the university and consequent inability to pay his debts.

It seems quite possible, however, that (then or later) a few copies were actually completed, either by King or by some other printer, for on or about July 9, 1813, Shelley wrote Hogg from London, "*Leonora has arrived*";¹⁸ and on October 21, 1813, Mrs. Cornelia Newton wrote Hogg that she had recently "read the first part of an early work" of his.¹⁹

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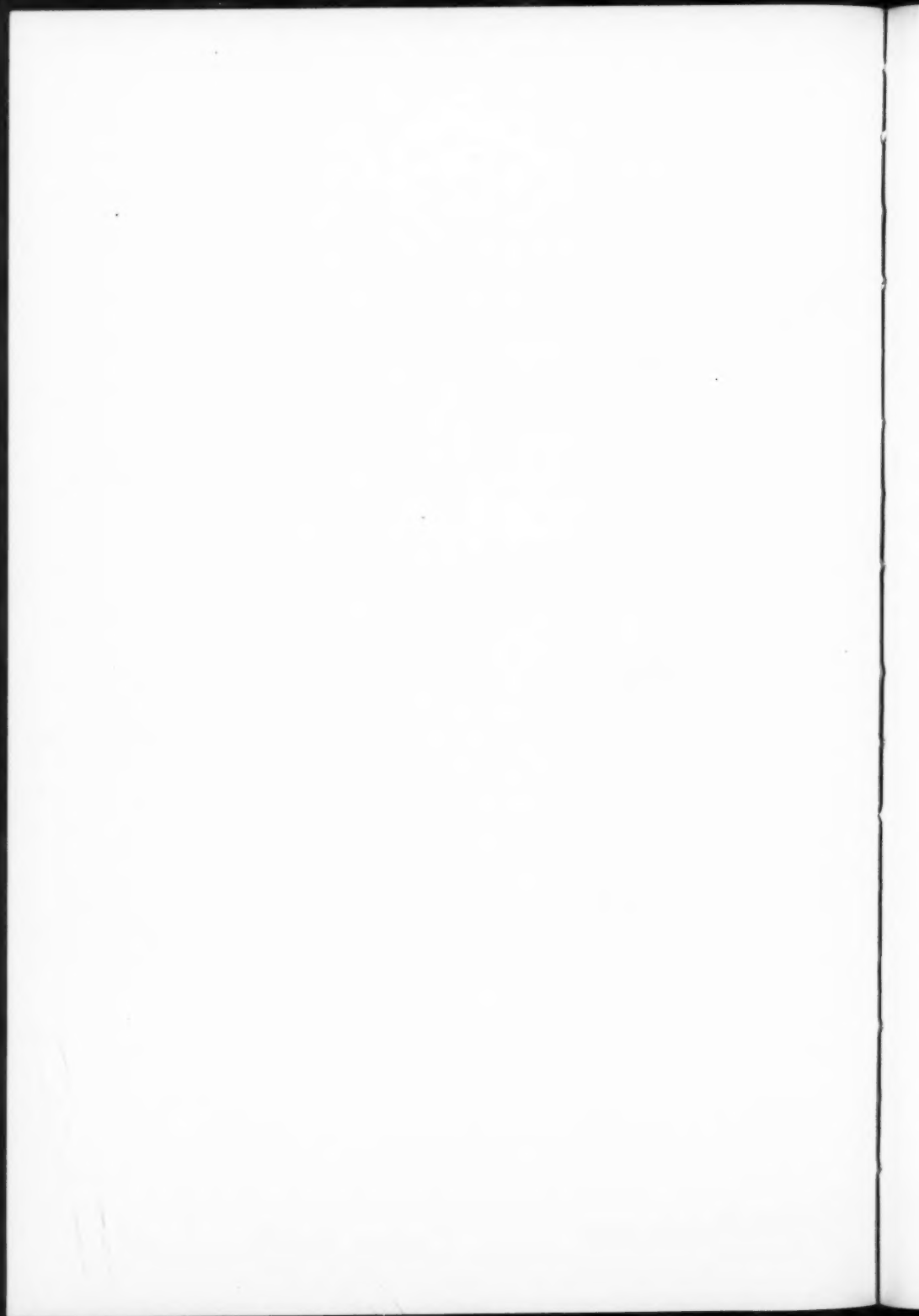
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¹⁶ Stockdale's meddling but produced melancholy results for himself. Sir Timothy's evil opinion of Hogg quickly changed to praise when that gentleman heard of the excellence of Hogg's family. Stockdale thus lost the friendship of Hogg, Shelley, and Sir Timothy; and not a farthing of the sums due him was ever paid.

¹⁷ Slatter's account was published in the Appendix to the fourth edition of Robert Montgomery's poem, *Oxford* (1835).

¹⁸ Julian Edition, letter No. 225; Hogg's text. Whether this "*Leonora*" is the name of a person or the title of a book it is impossible to determine, but the latter is much more probable.

¹⁹ Hogg, *Life of Shelley*, II, 477: "I read the first part of an early work of yours, and see it was the production of a very young man, some portions of which your mature judgment will not confirm. When we meet I will venture to discuss with you its beauties and defects."



VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1934

THIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: William D. Templeman, chairman, University of Illinois; Charles Frederick Harrold, Michigan State Normal College; Helen C. White, University of Wisconsin; Frederic E. Faverty, Northwestern University. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1934 (including reviews of earlier items) which have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1934. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1933, in *Modern philology*, May, 1934, is made by the following form: See VB 1933, 407. Some cross-references are given, although not all that are possible.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|----------|---|-------|--|
| AHR | = American historical review | JEGP | = Journal of English and Germanic philology |
| AL | = American literature | JMH | = Journal of modern history |
| AR | = American review (formerly Bookman) | JPE | = Journal of political economy |
| Archiv | = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen | LM | = London mercury |
| Beiblatt | = Beiblatt zur Anglia | LQHR | = London quarterly and Holborn review |
| BkL | = Bookman (London) | LZD | = Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland |
| CR | = Contemporary review | MLN | = Modern language notes |
| Cr | = Criterion | MLR | = Modern language review |
| CWd | = Catholic world | MP | = Modern philology |
| D | = Dickensian | N | = Nation |
| Ec | = Economica | NC | = Nineteenth century and after |
| ELH | = Journal of English literary history | NEQ | = New England quarterly |
| ER | = English review | NeuP | = Neuphilologische Monatschrift |
| ES | = Englische Studien | New R | = New republic |
| Est | = English studies (Amsterdam) | Nrf | = Nouvelle revue française |
| FR | = Fortnightly review | NS | = New statesman and nation |
| GRM | = Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift | NYTBR | = New York Times book review |
| HTB | = New York Herald-Tribune books | N & Q | = Notes & queries |
| | | PMLA | = Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Am. |

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>PQ</i> | =Philological quarterly | <i>SeR</i> | =Sewanee review |
| <i>QQ</i> | =Queen's quarterly | <i>SP</i> | =Studies in philology |
| <i>QR</i> | =Quarterly review | <i>SR</i> | =Saturday review |
| <i>RA</i> | =Revue anglo-américaine | <i>SRL</i> | =Saturday review of literature |
| <i>RES</i> | =Review of English studies | <i>TLS</i> | = (London) Times literary supplement |
| <i>RH</i> | =Revue historique | <i>VQR</i> | =Virginia quarterly review |
| <i>RLC</i> | =Revue de littérature comparée | <i>YR</i> | =Yale review |
| <i>S</i> | =Spectator | | |

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

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BRIEFER MENTION

The second International Congress of Literary History, organized (like the first, which was held at Budapest in May, 1931) by the secretariat of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Littéraire Moderne, will meet at Amsterdam, September 18-22, 1935. We have received from M. Paul Van Tieghem, the general secretary of the Commission, the following announcement concerning the program:

Le programme du Congrès est cette fois le suivant: "Les Périodes de l'Histoire littéraire de l'Europe (et de l'Amérique) depuis la Renaissance (inclusive-ment)." Quelle est la valeur des divisions chronologiques traditionnellement adoptées? ont-elles besoin d'être révisées? dans quelle mesure peuvent-elles, et celles qui leur seraient substituées pourraient-elles, s'appliquer à telle ou telle littérature particulière? dans quel rapport les périodes adoptées peuvent-elles se trouver avec les périodes historiques, sociales, artistiques, etc. ... ? peut-on s'entendre sur le sens et l'extension de certaines dénominations telles que: moyen âge—pré-renaissance—renaissance—baroque—classique—préromantisme—romantisme—réalisme, etc. ... ? Plusieurs de ces questions ont été récemment discutées dans divers pays.

Comme au Premier Congrès à Budapest, les séances seront occupées par des exposés où des savants que leurs travaux ont qualifiés comme spécialistes de telle période ou de telle question, résumeront leurs idées sur tel ou tel point; exposés suivis de discussions. Un certain nombre d'historiens américains de la littérature ont leur mot à dire sur ce genre de sujets; et nous désirons vivement que cette fois l'Amérique soit représentée parmi nous.

Among the scholars who have agreed to present communications at the Congress are G. Ascoli (Paris), F. Baldensperger (Paris), L. Cazamian (Paris), H. Cysarz (Prague), A. Farinelli (Turin), W. Folkierski (Cracow), J. Hankiss (Debrecen), J. Isaacs (London), R. Lebègue (Rennes), M. Raymond (Basle), L. Sorrento (Milan), G. Toffanin (Naples), D. de Vries (Amsterdam), Kurt Wais (Tübingen), O. Walzel (Bonn), and Ed. Wechsler (Berlin).

American scholars who may be interested in the work of the Congress are urged to communicate with M. Paul Van Tieghem, 9 rue Paul Saunière, Paris (XVI^e), who will furnish them with a more detailed program of the sessions and an introductory report on the work of the Congress prepared by M. Fernand Baldensperger.

When scholars have collected the proverbs in medieval literary monuments, they have ordinarily contented themselves with listing their results and have apparently had little interest in the use of proverbs. Bartlett Jere Whiting turns our attention to the stylistic value of proverbs: *Chaucer's use of proverbs*

("Harvard studies in comparative literature," Vol. XI [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934]; pp. xii+297). He distinguishes three classes of proverbial matter: the proverb, the sententious remark, and the proverbial phrase, with a subclass, the proverbial comparison. His discussion is limited to the proverb in the strict sense and is based on a running account of Chaucer's poems and on an illuminating comparison with Gower. Gower is didactic and awkward in his use of proverbs, while Chaucer, who is blessed with humor, uses proverbs freely in a great variety of connections and makes them an integral part of his style. Aside from its special value in throwing new light on Chaucer, Whiting's essay is a contribution to the study of proverbs. It enlarges our knowledge of the ways in which proverbs are used and corrects misapprehensions about the place of proverbs in popular and sophisticated literature. He has, moreover, brought together a much larger collection of medieval proverbs than the title indicates: the Chaucerian proverbs are more completely collected than ever before and so, too, are the proverbs in Eustache Deschamps and the fabliaux.—A. T.

All who have longed for comprehensive and chronological bibliographies of eighteenth-century English publications should be delighted with the appearance of William Thomas Morgan's *A bibliography of British history (1700-1715) with special reference to the reign of Queen Anne*, Volume I: 1700-1707 (Bloomington, Ind., 1934; pp. xvii+524). The labor involved in such a task is terrific, and even so it is of course impossible, as Professor Morgan recognizes, to achieve anything like a complete list of things printed in these few years. The present volume contains as preliminary to the whole work two admirable chapters—one giving general bibliographical aids to the study of the period and the other listing pamphlets and memoirs antedating the period but essential to the study of it. After these chapters the publications of the period itself (1702-7) appear arranged by years. The entries are clearly and conveniently made. Of course the comprehensive list with its inevitable abbreviations can never quite satisfy the technical bibliographer's appetite for detail; but, on the whole, he is here kindly treated. If he finds the fact unmentioned that the second edition of Dr. Freind's *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain* contains 280 pages, while Professor Morgan lists the first edition as having only 32, he should be stimulated not to complain but to inquiry. Both he and the student of any sort of history of the years in question will find invaluable "leads" in the works listed. The methods of collecting all these titles are in part described in the preface. For the benefit of future laborers it may not be amiss to suggest that by far the easiest way to assemble such titles is to gather them from the book advertisements in the newspapers of the period. A cursory examination of the very few books advertised in Charles Leslie's *Rehearsal* leads to the belief that approximately a score of titles—some of them fairly important—could have been added to Professor Morgan's lists with no great expenditure of time. In fact, any bib-

liography of this sort that is to approximate completeness can be built only on the innumerable advertisements of booksellers found in the newspapers. Professor Morgan has done admirably with the resources of the libraries that he has visited, but relatively few of them have chronological catalogues (the Huntington Library has a chronological catalogue for its holdings in this and earlier periods); and hence newspaper advertisements are almost indispensable aids both to speed and to completeness.—G. S.

Two recent German monographs deal with the literary connections of the English ballad. Margarete Willinsky examines the changes which Bishop Percy made in his materials in a study entitled *Bischof Percy's Bearbeitung der Volksballaden und Kunstgedichte seines Folio-Manuscriptes* ("Beiträge zur englischen Philologie," No. 22 [Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1932]; pp. viii+227). The introductory section, "Der geistesgeschichtliche Boden für das Aufkommen der 'Reliques'" (pp. 1-21), reviews the history of English poetry before Percy, and the second section, "Thomas Percy's Balladensammlung 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry'" (pp. 22-39), lists the ballad collections before Percy and indicates the origins of the *Reliques*. These two sections bring nothing new, and the summarized information is not effectively connected with the subsequent study of Percy's use of his sources. The space could have been better given to a summary and criticism of Percy's methods—subjects which are disposed of in two pages (pp. 225-27). The remainder of the essay consists of a methodical tabulation of the differences between the folio-manuscript and the printed text of the *Reliques*. We hear nothing about the variations in the four editions of the *Reliques* which appeared in Percy's lifetime; but this did not fall within the author's sphere. The tabulation of the differences is no doubt a useful undertaking, but it does not lead to any obvious interpretation of the assembled facts. Gabriele Humbert's *Literarische Einflüsse in schottischen Volksballaden: Versuch einer kritischen Variantenvergleichung* ("Studien zur englischen Philologie," No. 74 [Halle: Niemeyer, 1932]; pp. viii+117) is an important contribution to ballad study. She analyzes the variations which arise in oral ballad tradition, the influence of broadsides on oral balladry, and the value of Peter Buchan's ballads. The book is hard reading, and might have been made easier by a fuller exposition of the results. The methodical comparison of the texts of certain Child ballads with the versions taken down from recent oral Scottish tradition teaches us a good deal about the manner of ballad transmission. It is an excellent study of a difficult problem.—A. T.

The German term *Ballade* has much wider connotations than the English "ballad," and is used for a literary genre rather than a species of folk poetry. In a recent anthology, *Sammlung deutscher Balladen von Bürger bis Münchhausen* ([Halle: Niemeyer, 1934]; pp. xii+136), Börries, Freiherr von Münchhausen, illustrates in admirable fashion the history of the German

ballad from the time of Storm and Stress to the present. In a sense he is right in calling "Edward" the "Urballade," for it had a great influence in shaping the German concept. He might have pointed out that "Edward" is remarkable for its technique in developing a story solely in dialogue. Börries' collection lends itself to comparative studies in history and technique. He does not comment on the dramatic monologue as a separate form, although it is illustrated by Platen's "Der Pilgrim von St. Just" (p. 34). The choice of materials and the excellent notes recommend this anthology to advanced classes in literary history. Occasional additions to the notes can be made; e.g., on Uhland's "Das Glück von Edenhall," see Sprenger, "Das Oldenburger Trinkhorn und das 'Glück von Edenhall,'" *Am Urquell*, VI (1896), 153 ff.; but such additions are not numerous. An excellent book.—A. T.

Warren Hunting Smith's *Architecture in English fiction* ("Yale studies in English," Vol. LXXXIII [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934]; pp. viii + 236) furnishes a fund of detail about the history of taste in England from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day, and thus invites comparison with books like Geoffrey Scott's *The architecture of humanism*, Miss Manwaring's *Italian landscape in eighteenth century England*, Kenneth Clark's *The Gothic revival*, and Christopher Hussey's *The picturesque*, not to mention several shorter studies of the neo-classic, Gothic, and romantic vogues in English art. Mr. Smith has read prodigiously in the novels of two centuries, works of well-known authors from Walpole and Beckford to Bulwer-Lytton and Dickens, as well as obscure tales by a great variety of writers from the days of Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Sir Howell Henneth, Lady O'Shaughnessy, John Aikin, and Sophia Lee to those of Ainsworth, G. P. R. James, and Anna Eliza Bray. He adds a final smattering of references to Henry James, De Morgan, Conrad, Forster, Huxley, and Waugh, and there is a short account of some of the buildings employed by American novelists. The topics under which this mass of data is organized at once indicate the scope of Mr. Smith's project, its inferiority to the scholarship mentioned above, and the pitfalls awaiting any study of literary content that lacks a limiting idea or principle. He ranges from the Greek revival to the Gothic, from the German influence to the Catholic, from "local color" to "mystery in architecture," and from the love of completeness to the love of ruins. One chapter is devoted to "Castles, manors, and abbeys," another to "Temples, villas, and ruins"; one section to "The House personified," another to "The bizarre house." The result is an accumulation of annotations which never composes into a coherent argument or record, as regards either fictional methods or the "esthetic prejudices" of the decades covered.

Mr. Smith is best in passages built on specific criteria of selection—the Gothic, the oriental, etc.—but there his work suffers by comparison with more thorough specialized studies on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century

vogues. When he tries to live up to the broader assumptions of his title, he soon coerces his evidence and makes statements like these: "Scott was by no means blind to the emotional effect of buildings"—which is as useful and as discriminating as to notice Scott's emotional respect for moonlight; or "All Dickens' buildings seem ready to tumble down at no distant date"—which urges one to suggest a score or two of exceptions; or "Dickens . . . is not interested in fantastic country seats"—which immediately brings Chesney Wold to mind; or "Conrad's novels are full of ephemeral tropical buildings"—which is not only as useless as saying that his characters eat tropical food, but also ignores the highly dramatized architectural rectitude of Geneva in *Under Western eyes* and the sumptuous salons of *The arrow of gold*. Mr. Smith's work leaves one with two convictions: that it is easier to make an obscure or mediocre author count as evidence in a topical study than an important and skilful one; and that topical literary studies—whether of buildings or pictures, pets, or vegetables—are of little value when they refuse to center in a selected and specific critical argument. The preliminary program of "types of architectural setting" given here (the "purely decorative," the "structural," and the "emotional") announces Mr. Smith's courage but also his error. His book's chief worth is bibliographical; it may encourage, in himself or others, further explorations into obscure English fiction. But even about this service it is hard to be optimistic.—MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL.

The title of William J. Calvert's *Byron: romantic paradox* ([Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935]; pp. xlv+235) obliges one, at the outset, to resist an involuntary suspicion of this sort of emphasis on the poetic enigma with a hope that Byron's particular mixture and confusion of romantic traits has inspired a fresh estimate. This hope is not long encouraged. Mr. Calvert starts well, with commendable emphasis on the fact that Byron was a human being, subject to an average range of possibilities and limitations. But this view is soon inflated to include the familiar Manfredian dimensions.

The one half of him was a normal enough man, with a lucid, logical mind and simple emotions. The other half was possessed of a devil, not the ordinary demon, but the prince of devils, Lucifer the lightbearer and Mephistopheles the sayer of nay. The result was a constant warfare; the result was also his poetry. . . . What was the man's misfortune was the world's gain. Suffering calls up profound powers in brave spirits.

This becomes the scheme of the volume, from which, in spite of much valuable documentation of literary associations and derivations, critical novelty quickly vanishes. The dichotomy in Byron's personality is used to explain the contrast between his satirical work and his more visionary genius; this contrast then leads to the struggle of the classic and the romantic in his thought; and this warfare requires a continuous set of changes to be rung on the note of classic-romantic dualism in his nature. He is by turns a "gentleman" (p. 94)

and a mocker (135), "a scorner of compromise" (135) and "a magnanimous man" (209), a "spirit of imperious artistic will" (137) and a "great spirit" (151), "the antithesis of the hypocrite" yet "a divided spirit" (37), "a Calvinist and not a Calvinist" (13), a "man of sense" (38) and a man of "strong sentimentalism" (54). His temperament is in youth "closely akin to that of Samuel Johnson" (52) but in the end "definitely committed to the Juanesque mood" (207). Some of these protean virtues are explained by chronology, some by social hardships, some by histrionic gifts, and most of them in the end only by invoking the riddles of romantic genius.

Byron is no simple soul, but the amount of recent biographical and psychoanalytic exploitation should have made Mr. Calvert satisfied to limit himself to a gainlier study of Byron's sources, associations, or ideas—one in which literary judgment would not depend continuously on theories or surmises about personality. Instead, such problems are crowded inside the edges of a project of which no phase is fairly attacked (this is notably so in a chapter surveying "The Age of Reason"), and no evidence free of dependence on the belabored "manysidedness" of Byron's character. Mr. Calvert's most useful work is done where he shows what some of these problems are: Byron's relations with Gifford, Bowles, and Jeffrey; his contacts with contemporary journalism; his work in "Drama and propaganda"—the best chapter here; and his political opinions. Mr. Calvert's wide reading in early nineteenth-century sources has equipped him for one of these tasks; in so using it he might have avoided unprofitable competition both with the able studies of Mayne, Fuess, Chew, and Quennell, and with the quantities of hollow claptrap that have been inspired by an English poet to whom the device of "paradox" does no new or serious justice.—MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL.

In their edition of eighty-seven *Letters of William Michael Rossetti concerning Whitman, Blake, and Shelley to Anne Gilchrist and her son Herbert Gilchrist* ([Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1934]; pp. x+201), Clarence Gohdes and Paull Franklin Baum have presented with care and tact a quantity of correspondence, in itself not distinguished, which will appeal chiefly to students of Whitman's reputation in England. Mrs. Gilchrist, Whitman's famous English admirer and patron, is of course well known through her share in the American poet's later fortunes, and particularly through her published correspondence with him, but here her letters from Rossetti begin, in 1862, on the subject of her late husband Alexander Gilchrist's life of Blake, which she was then finishing for the press with the help of Blake students and collectors, among whom the Rossetti family was naturally conspicuous. Whitman enters the correspondence in 1869, a year after Rossetti's English edition of his poems, when the enthusiasm of a few English friends, most of them in or around the pre-Raphaelite circle, had already reached extravagant heights: "That glorious man Whitman will one day be known as one of the greatest sons of Earth, a few steps below Shakespeare on the throne of immortality.

What a tearing-away of the obscuring veil of use & wont from the visage of man & life!" Mrs. Gilchrist's excitement and compassion thereupon ensued, with results—particularly during her residence in Philadelphia in 1876-8—familiar to all readers of Whitman. Rossetti's bulletins on his English selections from *Leaves of grass*, on his plans for subscriptions in aid of their author, and on the growing reputation of Whitman among English periodicals and critics furnish many details in one of the most important records of English interest in American literature. Dowden, Symonds, Swinburne, Mathilde Blind, Carpenter, and lesser admirers enter the account, which is finally concluded with transcripts of Rossetti's petition to President Cleveland on behalf of a government pension for Whitman, a subscription-circular of English donations with Whitman's thanks attached, and a series of letters from Rossetti to Charles Aldrich of Des Moines, Iowa, relating to the success of these English solicitations. Messrs. Gohdes and Baum have printed these documents with a minimum of editorial interference, their annotations being brief and precise but rather awkwardly arranged as interruptions of the text instead of as footnotes to the page, where, since many of them fall in that position in any case, all of them might better stand. The material on Blake suggests the revision of attitude toward him during the second half of the century, especially under pre-Raphaelite direction; the details on Shelley are slight, touching chiefly on the edition of his verse and prose works which Rossetti was intermittently preparing during the years of this correspondence. Rossetti's services to the cause of sympathy for both English and American authors show up familiarly in this volume, but with, on the whole, little of the critical distinction revealed in some of his more ambitious memorial projects. The book is produced with great physical distinction by the press of Duke University.—MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL.

A new attitude toward literary studies is seen in the collections of materials for the study of particular problems which are now appearing. Laboratory manuals, as we might call such works, are comparatively rare in English, but in German their number is rapidly increasing. An example from the field of folk lore is F. Ranke, *Volkssage* ("Volkskundliche Texte," ed. L. Mackensen [Leipzig: Eichblatt-Verlag, 1934]; pp. 93). Ranke prints texts of four tales—the women of Weinsberg, the dream of the treasure on the bridge, the giant's plaything, and the mysterious message of death (which is allied to the story of the message of Pan's death). These four tales illustrate (1) a tale which has its origin in a definite historical event, (2) a tale which has come to Germany through literary channels and which has established itself in many places as a bit of localized tradition, (3) a tale which has obscure mythical connections, and (4) a tale which combines all the problems in this sort of investigation. From eighteen to sixty-five versions of each tale are printed, sufficient annotation is supplied, and comparative study is rendered easy. A similar book is J. Müller and F. von der Leyen, *Lesebuch des deutschen Volksmärchens* ("Lite-

rarhistorische Bibliothek" [Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1934]; pp. viii + 192). This collection includes thirty-seven tales. The bibliographical annotation is ample and is often a convenient summary of facts which cannot easily be found elsewhere. The tales chosen illustrate three typical problems: (1) the historical development of the German tale from the earliest forms through the period of oriental borrowings to that of late medieval themes; (2) the local types of German narratives; (3) the variations in the technique of popular narratives. It is always a thankless task to quarrel with an anthology, and it is all the more difficult to do so with one so well planned as this. English readers would have expected to find "Cinderella" represented in some way, and "Cupid and Psyche," too, might have found a place. Perhaps too much space is given to stories of impossibilities and lies, but such stories are abundant in Germany, are connected with many forms of popular and artistic literature, and are little studied. The idea of arranging tales according to their relative ages is already found in von der Leyen's edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Jena, 1922). It is an instructive exercise in the folk tale to discuss the reasons which prompted his arrangement. The second section of the anthology gives a novel selection of tales characteristic of different German regions, but it is all too brief and the two regions richest in tales—North Germany and Hesse—are not represented. Something of the same sort is attempted in an entirely different way by R. S. Boggs, *A comparative study of the folktales of ten peoples* ("FF communications," No. 93 [Helsinki, 1930]). He points out some curious fluctuations in the currency of tales, but we must know more about these matters before we can safely draw conclusions. August von Löwis of Menar makes a very interesting and instructive comparison in his treatise, *Der Held im deutschen und russischen Märchen* (Jena, 1912). On a still larger scale, C. W. von Sydow seeks to prove by comparisons of style and matter that the fairy tale is an Indo-European and not a Semitic invention. The third section of the anthology exemplifies the art of popular narrative by selections of parallel texts of the sources and variants of tales in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. The subject has been lately treated in Kurt Schmidt, *Die Entwicklung der Grimm'schen Kinder- und Hausmärchen* ("Hermæa," No. 30 [Halle, 1932]), which might have been cited on page 184. For the convenience of those who wish to pursue such studies, I note that the University of Chicago Library has the reprint of the first edition of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and all the remaining editions except the third of those under the direction of the Brothers Grimm. A few comments on details may conclude this notice. It would have been helpful to include the numbers of incidents in Stith Thompson, *Motif index* ("FF communications," Nos. 105 ff.; also published as "Indiana University studies," Vols. XIX ff.). Reference should certainly have been made to H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål* (Copenhagen, 1886-1914), which is an indispensable guide to folkloristic materials. For many years V. Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ou-*

vragas arabes was the folklorist's stepchild. Few knew it and used it; but all that is changed now. Let us hope that the same change in attitude occurs toward Thompson and Feilberg. To the note on No. 1 add the reference, Thompson, C, 430. I have disputed the Western origin of "Der singende Knochen," No. 2; see *Modern philology*, XXIV (1927), 486-89. Liebrecht's "Der verstellte Narr," which is cited in No. 6, is more easily available in his *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), pages 141-53. I have collected examples of demons which fall piecemeal through the ceiling, an incident in No. 11; see *Modern philology*, XVII (1919), 321, note 1 and W. Scott, *Marmion*, Note H. Very interesting are the connections of tale and proverb exemplified in Nos. 18 and 19, where the proverbial phrase of the crab running down the hare could be illustrated at great length. Does the game of "Rich and poor" cited in No. 20 have any bearing on the tale? My collectanea and comment on No. 25, "Vom Tode des Hühnchens," will be printed in the forthcoming fascicle of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, s.v. "Formelmärchen," II, § 10, and see also Wesselski, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, Volume XXXII (1933). A photographic copy of the extremely rare reprint of the "Wachtelmaere," a tale cited in No. 29, is in the University of Chicago Library.—A.T.

Five years ago Stith Thompson announced a plan of listing the incidents in popular narrative and introduced the system into his revision of the fundamental index of tales, *The types of the folk-tale: a classification and bibliography* ("FF communications," No. 74 [Helsinki, 1928]). Now the promised list has begun to appear: *Motif-index of folk-literature*, I, A-C ("Indiana University studies," Vol. XIX [Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Library, 1932], Nos. 96, 97 and also as "FF communications," No. 106 [Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1932]; pp. 428.) This monumental work, a task which has occupied Thompson for twenty years, aims to provide a systematic and logical arrangement of the traditional incidents of myths, place legends, ballads, jests, magic and other tales, and saints' lives. The classification permits additions and enlargement. References to the investigations into each incident are given, when possible. Although Thompson supplies a general sketch of the classification, detailed analyses chapter by chapter, and an abundance of cross-references within the text, the alphabetical index, which can only appear at the end of the work, will greatly facilitate its use. The first three chapters (A: mythological motifs; B: animals; C: taboo have now been issued and comprise no less than 364 pages. The remainder of the work is already at the printer's.—A. T.

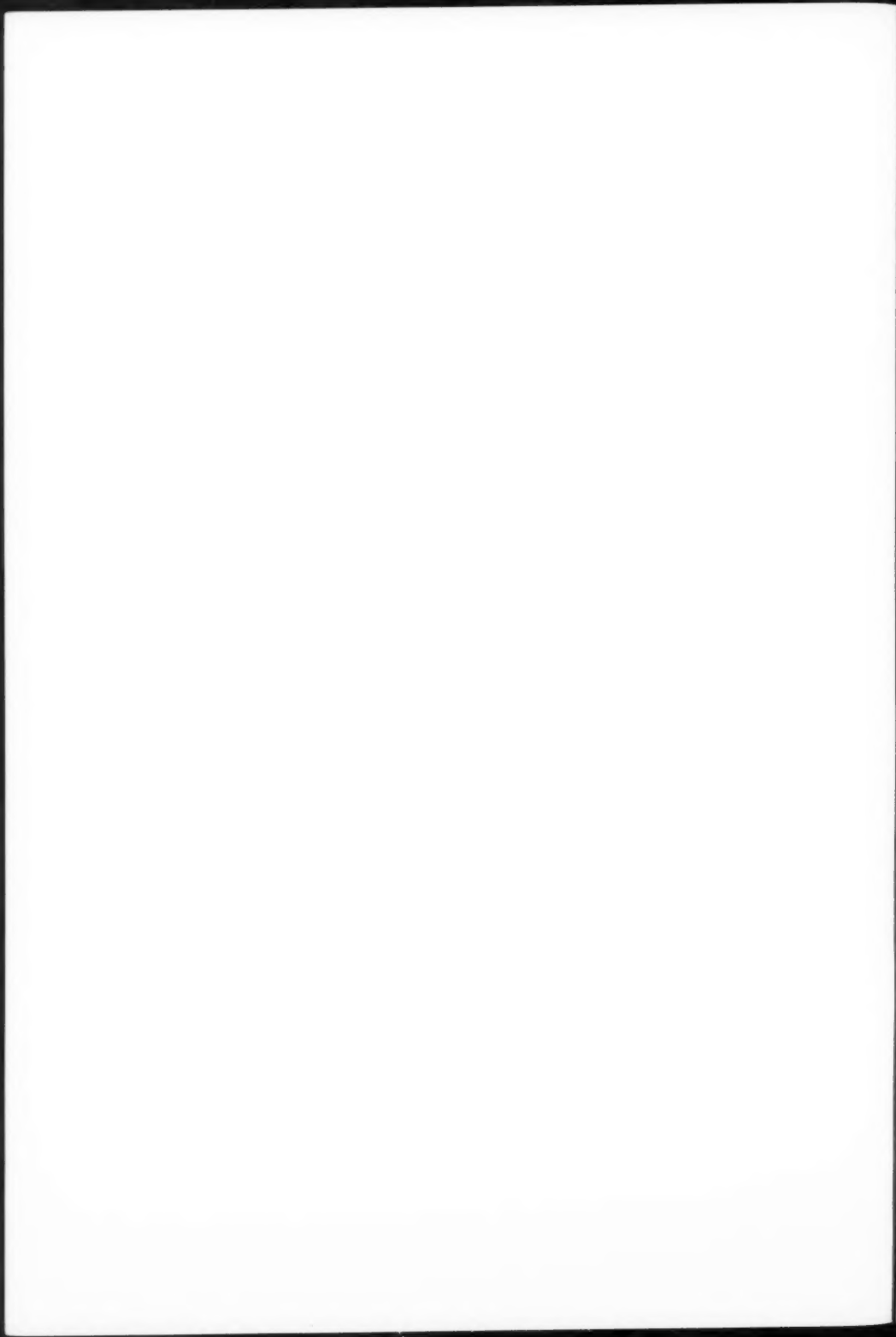
Only a few countries e.g., Germany, Italy, Switzerland, possess comprehensive lists of books and articles dealing with their national folk lore. None, I think, enjoys the distinction of Czechoslovakia in having found necessary

a second edition of such a list: A. Hauffen, *Bibliographie der deutschen Volkskunde in Böhmen* ("Beiträge zur sudetendeutschen Volkskunde," No. 20 [Reichenberg: Sudetendeutscher Verlag Franz Kraus, 1931]; pp. li+400; 1 pl.). This second edition, prepared by the competent hand of Gustav Jungbauer, is a monument to industry and love of country. More than fifty-five hundred books and articles are arranged in convenient order for the scholar. The definition of folk lore is somewhat broader than that familiar in English use, for history, settlement, local histories, dialects, place names, and domestic archeology are included as well as folk tales, folk songs, riddles, proverbs, customs, superstitions, and the like.—A. T.

In her foreword to *Undercurrents of influence in English romantic poetry* ([Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934]; pp. xii+365), Margaret Sherwood announces that her eight essays "are meant to be suggestive, not fully demonstrative"; that they "in no way constitute a treatise, but are a series of appreciations, founded upon thought developed during work done for many years . . . in Wellesley College"; and that "no claim is made that the earlier writers [Shaftesbury, Brooke, Pope, Thomson, Akenside, Young, and Herder] were the first to state these ideas, only that they stated them well, and in a manner that became greatly influential." These remarks plainly qualify the merits and extenuate the defects of her work. The volume testifies to a career of enthusiastic teaching, whose warmth and generosity of interest are conveyed in Miss Sherwood's style and ample expositions. However, her opening emphasis on "influences," and on the still more hazardous theme of "evolution" ("The word evolution and the word philosophy are used in their earlier, larger, not later and narrower meanings," etc.), makes it necessary to say that her papers on topics of large scope and subtle difficulties are written not only under the privileges of informality proper to the classroom, but with a laxity of method and terminology hardly permissible outside of it. The essays on "Wordsworth: 'The Unity of All,'" "Wordsworth: 'The Imaginative Will,'" "Keats' approach to myth," and "The young Browning" contain useful descriptive summaries, but even here the effort toward expounding "the deeper influences of philosophy and science of the period," "the spiritual evolution of humanity," Wordsworth's "ethical theory in accord with Kant's," and similar problems relies on a language so ingenuous that it brings even the more factual passages on content under suspicion. In the first three essays—"A great transition period," "Some phases of development of thought in the world of letters in the eighteenth century," and "Herder and his background: an appreciation"—the sketchiness of method is frank, and provides its own warning. The assumptions about Shaftesbury's aesthetic and ethical ideas and their influence are fortified by no scholarship later than Professor Moore's, and not greatly by his; the principle of "universal unity" in Pope and Brooke is reduced to two varieties of deist morality; Thomson's "attention to nature

phenomena" is discussed without mention of Newton or contemporary Anglican apologetics; the account of Herder's *Philosophy of history* and its affiliations is mainly appreciative, ending with a heroic tribute, a quotation from Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind," and the statement that "such sowing is fulfilment." It is perhaps unfortunate that a similar open air of inadequacy does not run through the discussions of Wordsworth, Keats, and Browning, for in these poets too the day has arrived for an exact corrective analysis of ideas. This need Miss Sherwood senses and sometimes asserts, but seldom satisfies. Her digests have virtues of an elementary kind which may easily be mistaken by students unable to see beyond the highly simplified interpretations which make up the greater part of each chapter.

The essays on "Keats' approach to myth" and "Browning and Mr. Santayana" confine themselves to limited arguments, and are easily the best portions of the book. The account of Keats's experiments in the symbolism of legends and classical traditions is particularly suggestive of his intellectual seriousness; the refutation of Mr. Santayana's charges of "frank barbarism" in Browning rests largely on a basis of temperamental sympathy, but is well reasoned and competently illustrated. As a whole, Miss Sherwood's book raises—perhaps unconsciously—more problems than five times the space at her disposal could safely treat. Where her treatment is most acceptable, it is also most familiar and gratuitous. Where it stands in need of expansion and correction, it serves as a reminder of the kind of critical revision which these traditional assumptions about romantic literature have long stood in need.—MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL.



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